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BIOGRAPHIES OF

Pres. GROVER CLEVELAND

AND

Hon. ALLEN G. THURMAN,

WITH FULL PROCEEDINGS OF THE ST. LOUIS CONVENTION AND AUTHORIZED TEXT OF THE NATIONAL PLATFORM.

BY JAMES P. BOYD, A.M.

Number 14, July, 1888.

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FRANKLIN NEWS CO
PHILADELPHIA PA.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY.

Entered at the Post Office, at Philadelphia, as Second class Matter.

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S. GROVER CLEVELAND

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

OF

PRESIDENT S. GROVER CLEVELAND.

PARENTAGE.—President Cleveland sprang from an old and distinguished New England ancestry. It is a line which is plentifully interspersed with specimens of thorough culture, high intellectual achievement, and true American instinct. His father, Richard F. Cleveland, was a Connecticut clergyman of the Presbyterian denomination, and different branches of the family held prominent pulpit places in the Presbyterian, Congregational and Episcopalian Churches. They were all alike public-spirited men, intensely loyal to their convictions, and firmly attached to our free institutions.

The President's immediate ancestors formed a Connecticut branch of the large family. His great-grandfather was Aaron Cleveland, who lived and died in or near the town of Norwich, though born in East Haddam. He was a clergyman of considerable power and reputation, but with a turn for political life. A large and admiring constituency gave him opportunity to indulge his inclination by sending him to the State Legislature.

The two sons of Aaron Cleveland who are most conspicuously mentioned were Charles and William. Charles Cleveland, great-uncle of the President, had a daughter who married Samuel Coxe. Their son, Alfred Cleveland Coxe, is now the Bishop of Western New York. The other son, William Cleveland, lived in Norwich most of his life, where he carried on the business of a silversmith. At a late period he went to Buffalo, N. Y., to live, that he might be near other members of his family who resided there. He died there in 1837.

William's son, Richard F. Cleveland, and father of the President, was born in Norwich, Jan. 19, 1804. He entered Yale College at the early age of sixteen years and graduated in 1824. He then went to Baltimore to teach school, in the meantime carrying on a series of studies designed to fit him for the ministry. In 1828 he was ordained a minister in the Presbyterian Church, and immediately took charge of the congregation at Haddam, Conn. While teaching in Baltimore he made the acquaintance of a Miss Neal, whom he married after he had been preaching about a year.

The Rev. Richard F. Cleveland was a man of high intellectual attainments, and a most devoted student. Study was a love beyond any thought of worldly advancement. In the course of his ministerial work, and soon after his marriage, he accepted a call at Caldwell, N. J., where he officiated for some years. Thence he removed to Fayetteville, Onondaga co., N. Y. After a time he moved to Clinton, Oneida co., and thence to Holland Patent, in the same county, where he died, Oct. 1, 1853. His wife, the President's mother, lived till July 19, 1882, almost long enough to see her illustrious son elected to the highest office in the gift of the citizens of the Empire State.

EARLY LIFE.—President Cleveland was born in Caldwell, Essex co., N. J., on March 18, 1837. He was therefore in the forty-eighth year of his age when he was elected, and one of the youngest of our Presidents. He was named Stephen Grover Cleveland, though popularly known as Grover Cleveland, the first part of his Christian name having fallen into disuse.

He was the fifth in a family of nine children, the others being Mrs. Hastings, William N. Cleveland, Mrs. Wm. E. Hoyt, Richard C. Cleveland, Mrs. N. B. Bacon, Lewis F. Cleveland, Mrs. L. Youmans, and Rose Elizabeth Cleveland, the latter unmarried, a lady of strong intellectual capacity, and a prominent woman suffrage advocate.

The two-story-and-a-half white house in which the President was born is still standing. At the age of three years he left the scene of his birth to accompany the family to their new home in Fayetteville, N. Y. Here he grew to stout and active boyhood,

amid the advantages then common to village life, not the least of which was good common schooling.

At the age of fourteen he desired to supplement his common school education with an academic one. His father was somewhat averse to this step, on the score of expense, and because he desired his boys to become self-supporting as soon as possible. Accepting the parental verdict as final, the youth started out to earn his own living, and push his own way in life.

He entered the village store at a salary of fifty dollars for the first year, which sum was to be made one hundred for the second year, in case he proved efficient. The boy's pluck and energy did not fail him. His record in this humble position bespoke the coming man. It was one of simple, unswerving integrity and untiring loyalty to the interests of his employer. In public place, and in mature years, it has ever been one of faithful adherence to deep-rooted conviction and much-admired devotion to the interests of the people who honored him with their confidence and support. The testimony is unimpeachable that whatever the boy found to do in the capacity in which he was first called to serve he did with all his heart, and that in the earliest chapter of his history of self-helpfulness and business independence there is indelibly written down a reputation for bravery of spirit, fidelity to trust, and candor of character, which has outlived the intermediate years.

A STUDENT.—The quality of courage, inherent in his composition, and of ambition to acquire a broader education, were seconded by economic habits; so that after a year or two spent in the Fayetteville store, and when his father moved to Clinton, the youth rejoiced in a realization of his dreams by being permitted to attend the academy in the village. Here he made rapid progress in learning, for his purse was meagre, and opportunity long coveted was to be turned to speedy account. His father, with a large family to support, and only a limited income to rely upon, could not supplement his efforts to acquire a higher education. The path to success must be cut out of the hard rock of limited circumstances by the boy's own ingenious and persevering hand. Right well he held the chisel, and right well di-

rected the stroke. Acquisition with him was easy, and his academic career profitable, though brief. Education under such circumstances may not be so full as when plenty of time and money is at command, but it is better appreciated, and often far more practical. Moreover, it is an incentive to higher endeavor, for both youth and manhood are at their best when it is understood that the price of victory is hard blows with the weapons of one's own earning.

A TEACHER.—The breaking up of the paternal home in Clinton, by the removal of his father to Holland Patent, a village of some five or six hundred people, fifteen miles north of Utica, ended his academic career. In this new field the father preached but three Sundays, when death ended his pastorate. Grover first heard of his father's death while walking with his sister in the streets of Utica. The sad event was followed by the final break-up of a large family, which a loving hand had held together and inspired with a truly Christian spirit. The children all sought honorable walks in life, and even those who have not found renown are in possession of that independence, peace, and comfort which often count for more than fame.

As Rev. Richard F. Cleveland died Oct. 1, 1853, the son, Grover, must have been in his seventeenth year. Though young to brave life without a father's counsel, he struck eastward and found himself in the city of New York. Here he seems to have been fortunate in securing a situation as teacher in the New York City Blind Asylum, where he had a record as a devoted instructor and a great reader and student. His tastes, or ambitions, were not, however, satisfied in this confined situation. The world of the school-room was not large enough for him. There were other things in store, and he would seek them. Two years ended his teaching career, and he started for the West.

A LAW STUDENT.—This journey was without definite plan, and even without destination, except in so far as the persuasions of a friend had induced him to inspect the city of Cleveland, Ohio, and try his fortune in what was then regarded as one of the most growthy and promising cities of the West. The coincidence of the name with his own augured well, if boy-

ish fancy were to play a part in establishing his fortune. He therefore made that city his objective point. Fortunately, he stopped for a time in Buffalo, where he found a maternal uncle, Lewis F. Allen, a man held in high esteem in Erie county, one who had been honored by many public positions, and who in turn had honored them.

Mr. Allen was very favorably impressed with his nephew and young adventurer. He persuaded him that Buffalo offered as many opportunities for success as any more remote place, and kindly proffered him much good counsel and encouragement. Young Grover's predilections for the West were overcome. He resolved to stay with his uncle. Mr. Allen was then a noted breeder of blooded stock-cattle. His farms in the neighborhood of Buffalo were extensive, and his herds had a reputation for purity of quality which was not limited by State lines. Desiring to perfect his operations, he placed young Grover in charge of the herd-books, at the modest sum of fifty dollars a year and found, but with the understanding that he was to look around him for other occupation in case this proved irksome. The old uncle evidently knew that a young man [illegible]n aspirations for Western life, and with ambitions to succeed, could not be abruptly switched off his line of intent, unless he himself largely acquiesced in the diversion.

Besides, the youth had already signified his intention to make himself a lawyer. This ambition he soon found means to gratify. The entry of herd varieties, the noting of pedigrees for Alderneys, short horns, Durhams, etc., was not such sleepy work as to close his eyes to chances for getting on, even though the location was two miles beyond the centre of the city. On the contrary, it was a work which gave him the control of much leisure. This he resolved to turn to account.

He made application to the law firm of Messrs. Rogers, Bowen & Rogers, in Buffalo, to be entered as a student. Success followed the application. He had now the double care of editing an important stock book and drinking in the lore of Blackstone and Coke upon Littleton. From farm to office, and back, he walked each day, winter and summer, till he passed his final examination and was admitted to the bar.

This period of acquisition, under difficulties which would have appalled a youth with less pluck, served as a training time for the qualities which were to round out the able practitioner and assure his professional success. The privations of the penniless novitiate were over. His receptive mind had made the labor of learning light, and this was the one joy which had pervaded the long, difficult and weary pupilage.

AS A LAWYER.—The date of his admission to the bar was 1859, he then being in his twenty-third year. Such was the confidence of the firm in his ability and integrity that he remained with it for three or four years after his admission. He thus added to previous training a large experience in active practice, and came to be noted for his close preparation of cases, his clear and forcible method of statement, and his untiring adherence to the cause he espoused. The elements of growth which bore him over the obstacles of previous years were now lifting him into honorable competition with the older lights of the bar. If these elements, as they now cropped out, were to be reduced to speech, they must be enumerated as exhaustive preparation, stern adhesion to purpose, avoidance of legal quirk, just and faithful representation, sterling honesty in details, loyal adhesion to clientage. Back of these were a commanding presence, a gracious demeanor, a fervid style of eloquence, which bespoke the confidence of courts and juries, and stamped him as one calculated to win as much through worth as energy. Says one of his early associates in Buffalo: "Grover Cleveland won our admiration by his three traits of indomitable industry, unpretentious courage and unswerving honesty. I never saw a more thorough man at anything he undertook. Whatever the subject was he was reticent until he had mastered all its bearings and made up his own mind, and then nothing could swerve him from his convictions. It was this quality of intellectual integrity more than anything else perhaps, that made him afterwards listened to and respected when men with greater dash and brilliancy who were opposed to him were applauded and forgotten."

In 1863, the honors which could not long be withheld from a man of his solidity of character and pronounced professional

status, fell upon him in the shape of a call to the position of Assistant District Attorney of Erie County. The call came at the instance of his associates at the bar, who had united in a recommendation which was almost unanimous. This was the true beginning of his public career. It is significant that it had an origin in a confidence which was widely diffused, and untrammeled by creed or politics. It was an unquestioned, unlimited confidence, such as goes out only to those whose manhood is their guarantee of freedom from belittling influences and false actions. He was a Democrat, and had passed from boyhood to manhood as such. But while imbued with lively party convictions and given to earnest advocacy of vital party tenets, he never stooped to the use of questionable methods, and never forgot for a moment the proper attitude of parties toward the State, the nation, and the institutions which inlay and overshadow all. There was no asperity in his politics, and none of that narrow, intense partyism which estranges friends, sanctions corrupt practices, or refuses to see any good in men and things outside of clannish limits. In the hour of war he placed country before party. In the hour of peace he recognized the uses of party as legitimate and purifying, provided partyism did not run away with and pervert honorable and acceptable methods.

For all of the above reasons, his associates at the bar and the citizens of his town found it fitting to honor him with his first public trust. While serving in the capacity of Assistant District Attorney he was drafted, and promptly furnished a substitute. His career in this office extended over a period of three years. How acceptably he had served was shown by the fact that he received the nomination of his party for the position of District Attorney in 1865. His opponent on the Republican ticket, Lyman K. Bass, was successful, after a spirited contest, in which Mr. Cleveland showed himself much stronger than his party.

On the first of January, 1866, he formed a law partnership with the late J. V. Vanderpool, which continued till January, 1869. It then ended by the withdrawal of Mr. Vanderpool to fill the position of Police Justiceship to which he had been elected. After this dissolution a new law-firm was formed, known as

Laning, Cleveland and Folsom, the head of it being Hon. A. P. Laning, State Senator. While in this firm and in the enjoyment of a lucrative practice he was called upon to serve again in a public capacity. This time it was as Sheriff of Erie County. The office is not usually regarded as one requiring more than average ability to fill it, nor does it ordinarily open a field for the exercise of very high or commanding qualities. But in this instance, not only the Democratic, but a conspicuous factor in the Republican party, had an object to accomplish which could be done in no other way and through no other agency. Gross favoritism and glaring corruption had crept into the administration of the office. The management had become an offense to every element of justice and defiant of every reform remedy. The majority of the dominant party in the county was usually large, running from three to six thousand. Democracy alone had a poor show to correct crying evils. It was only by putting up a man for the place whose character was in itself a guarantee of the reforms demanded that they could hope to draw the Republican contingent necessary to secure his election. Their choice fell on Grover Cleveland as the man for the emergency. He would necessarily have to make a great personal and professional sacrifice if he succeeded, but he was a man who shrank from no consideration of expediency when a great public interest had to be subserved. The purification of a pest-house disturbs the stereotyped order of things and puts society and individuals to much present discomfort. But the general good must be consulted, and he is not a hero who refuses to second every effort to further the sanative and social welfare of his community.

Full of this laudably sacrificial spirit and with the determination to introduce marked and lasting reforms into a position whose status had been shamefully lowered, he stood for the election, and was flatteringly successful. His administration was what was expected of a man of his integrity and firmness. He broke up corrupt practices, wiped out the shame which clouded the office and gave to execution of county affairs a new direction and more significant meaning. He showed that dignity could be made to crown the actions of an official, even

though the office was that of sheriff. The object of his election was fully met by his vigor and straightforwardness. At the end of his term he returned the office to the majority party as a model piece of county machinery and an evidence of what reforms could be achieved if officials would only keep in view the best interests of those they are called upon to serve. His administration was not forgotten in Buffalo. The man for this emergency would prove the man for others, when the need should become equally great.

His election to the Sheriffalty occurred in the fall of 1869. His acceptance put an end to his partnership in the law-firm of Laning, Cleveland and Folsom. At the expiration of his official term he had to look around for other connections. Soon a partnership was formed with Lyman K. Bass, his old opponent in the race for District Attorney, and Wilson S. Bissell, the firm being known as that of Bass, Cleveland and Bissell.

He was now back on favorite professional ground, after a diversion which had brought into conspicuous view his masterly executive qualities and familiarized the Western end of the State with an administration whose vigor was only surpassed by its purity. In a short time Mr. Bass removed from Buffalo and the law-firm became Cleveland, Bissell and Sicard. It took rank at once as among the foremost, if not the foremost, in Western New York, a reputation which was secured and maintained by the large acquaintance, high standing, and recognized legal ability of the head of the firm. Their office was in spacious and prominent quarters on Main street, where each member had his own library, consulting room and other facilities for carrying on the different branches of their rapidly growing business. Cleveland and Bissell were both very large men physically, and they were often jokingly called the heavy weights of the firm. Both were dignified and affable in demeanor, and aside from their reputation as sound and successful lawyers, were calculated to attract a large clientage and inspire it with the utmost confidence.

In this partnership Mr. Cleveland regarded himself as settled for life. Success was crowning his efforts and gratifying his ambitions. He has been heard to say that he was content with his

partners and his practice. Had he been left with them, he need never have entertained a fear that his merits would have been overlooked by the great public, nor that all the rewards of industry, honesty, and ability would have failed to cluster in his path.

Says one who was well acquainted with him at this period: "It was while thus associated that Grover Cleveland achieved his distinction as a lawyer second to few in the Western part of the State for legal acumen and intellectual honesty. His jury and bench trials were distinguished by clear views, direct, simple logic, and a thorough mastery of all the intricacies of the cases, and his invariable avoidance of extrinsic issues and purely technical devices secured for him the respect of his own profession and the admiration of the public."

AS MAYOR.—Destiny forbade a long continuance of this smoothly running tide. Municipal politics in Buffalo had assumed a shape repugnant to the better citizens of both parties. Powerful rings existed which partitioned offices and their spoils and perpetuated themselves with autocratic certainty and audacity. Ingenious and corrupting cliques in both parties conspired to plunder and divide. Perhaps the city was not unlike others in this respect, except as to the enormity of the evil and the difficulty of a hopeful attack upon it. He must possess more than ordinary bravery and tenacity of purpose who ventured to deal the first blow at a situation turreted with power and manned by skilled political manipulators. Redemptory effort, to be effective, must come from a source above all suspicion, must be as persistent as a forge-hammer, and regardless of consequences so far as they affected persons, parties or questions of sheer expediency. All during the year 1881 the cry for local reform, which it was well understood could only come by political revolution, went up. Was there a man in the midst popular enough to place experiment beyond reach of failure? Was there one indomitable enough to venture into the dens where the lions of power divided and devoured their dark and secret conquests?

It seemed that there was one. His party singled him out, at least the true men of his party. The true men of the Republican party said he was the man of all others best calculated to

meet the requirements of the difficult situation. They heartily seconded his selection, and joined hands with a will to give him a triumph at the polls. In a Republican stronghold, and against combinations which reached far toward the centre of his own party, he was chosen Mayor by 5000 majority; running far in advance of the State ticket. If the election were a testimonial to his fortitude, integrity and popularity, unexampled in Buffalo history, or even in the history of the State, what must the net results of his administration stand for? November, 1881, was morning in a city whose politics had been a Cimmerian midnight.

His mayoralty was in the exact line of that pronounced sentiment to which he owed the honors of his election. It fully justified the expectations that were created by his well-known character and previous public record. The nomination had come to him unsought and undesired, the election by that spontaneity which ever marks a great popular and tidal resolve, and prints its meaning so that even he that runneth cannot mistake it.

The man and his methods were now to stand the test. He was happily untrammeled in his choice of the latter. His own good judgment was to be his criterion. This judgment had been greatly widened and strengthened by his practice at the bar, and his ample opportunities to study men and political ways and measures. As to aught else there was no fear, for his turn was executive, his nature sterling and invincible. He was his own counsellor. With characteristic industry he passed the first weeks after election in studying the details of every department of the city administration and mapping a programme from which there should be no departure either under vituperation or applause.

His inaugural address sounded the key-note of administration. "We hold," said he, "the money of the people in our hands, to be used for their purposes and to further their interests as members of the municipality, and it is quite apparent that, when any part of the funds with which the taxpayers have thus intrusted us are diverted to other purposes, or when, by design or neglect, we allow a greater sum to be applied to any municipal purpose than

is necessary, we have to that extent violated our duty. There surely is no difference in his duties and obligations, whether a person is intrusted with the money of one man or many. And yet it sometimes appears as though the office-holder assumes that a different rule of fidelity prevails between him and the taxpayers than that which should regulate his conduct, when, as an individual, he holds the money of his neighbor."

Such was the great need of reform in the city, the desperation of the battle to be fought, the explicit character of his pledges, the firmness of the man, the curiosity to note the outcome of the administrative struggle, that both parties throughout the entire State looked on Buffalo and its mayoralty as a prime part of a political drama, whose further enactment in municipal high places for their purification and enlightenment should depend on its success where first introduced. The Buffalo reform movement was to be not only for Buffalo, but it was to be a criterion by which all municipal reforms were to be graduated, after which all should pattern, through which all should derive hope and encouragement.

It is not in stations of glittering magnitude that men are put to the severest tests. "The qualities," says Socrates, "that fit a man to rule a city, fit him to rule an empire." Indeed, it is true that public responsibility is deepest, and official worth most radically tested, the nearer the office lies to the people. This is what makes municipal government such a delicate and difficult thing. The fortitude, the knowledge of men and situations, the integrity, the statesmanlike grasp, which are necessary, in a municipal executive, to assure pure and acceptable administration, are no more largely required, and certainly never so constantly called into active requisition, where the executive is even that of a State or nation.

Scarcely had he launched his administration when it drew the concentrated fire of his political enemies. The City Council was against him, with its love of jobbery and adhesion to practices he would uproot and discard. The old rings encircled him, either to gather him into deceptive embrace or crush him in their deadening coils. A street-cleaning contract, as immense

as it was iniquitous, went through the Council. It was the grand opportunity of the pilfering politician to enrich himself and friends. It was a type of the jobs which had impoverished the city and brought its administration into discredit. It was, moreover, the kind of enactment which cemented municipal influence and made it hazardous to his popularity for an executive officer to crush it with his veto. But the veto came, and in this instance promptly and with telling effect. It was as if a bomb had suddenly burst in the midst of the plunderers. "This is a time," said he, in his veto message, "for plain speech, and my objection to your action shall be plainly stated. I regard it as the culmination of a most barefaced, impudent and shameless scheme to betray the interests of the people and to worse than squander the public money. We are fast gaining positions in the grades of public stewardship. There is no middle ground. Those who are not for the people either in or out of your honorable body, are against them, and should be treated accordingly."

The people, who knew their man before, now knew him better. In fact, his political enemies knew him quite too well. His was not the stuff that tricksters and cowards are made of, but the sterling metal which enters into men coined and stamped for great occasions. His action was received with the greatest favor by his party friends, and by the friends of purity and decorum throughout the county and State. It was a harbinger of other victories far more significant, and an earnest that municipal reform was at last within reach of a long aggrieved people. He was heralded far and wide as the strong, incorruptible, invincible hero of an emergency before which others had quailed and fell. The results of this single veto to the city were of incalculable benefit. Its moral effect was felt in every department. The political atmosphere was freshened. From an economical standpoint, the saving was immense. Under a subsequent ordinance, and the contracts based on it, the work was done for $100,000 less money than at first proposed.

It is hardly necessary for the exemplification of Grover Cleveland's fortitude, integrity, and wonderful executive ability,

to go into painstaking and tedious details of his mayoralty. We understand why he was chosen and what was expected of him. A thousand instances of heroic and timely application of the power with which he was vested would not magnify the importance of the verdict of approval which awaited the closing hours of his administration. Nor would such serve to further illuminate those qualities of manhood he was now seen to possess in a degree which astounded and overawed his opponents. Yet mention must be made of his second struggle with the powerful and corrupting influences about him. This was a job to build a large connecting sewer. The issue was sharply joined, the contention bitter. The mayor's pluck and earnestness won, and his second victory was far more significant than the first. It saved $800,000 to the city. Altogether the first six months of his administration saved to the city an amount estimated at $1,000,000. This magnificent aggregate might be safely doubled, if the entire term of his mayoralty were to be considered. True, the rings were daunted and never rallied to other audacious attacks on the treasury, yet the mayor found frequent uses for his veto power in order to preserve the position he had won and drive home on his opponents the wholesome effects of his reformatory teaching. Not a single ordinance was ever passed over his veto. His veto messages were models of directness and exactness.

We search American political annals in vain for an example of municipal administration so vigorous, effective and productive of permanent good, as that which Grover Cleveland gave to Buffalo. His comprehension of a delicate and difficult situation, his mastery of details, his development of an executive policy, his firm yet dignified command of the powers at his disposal, his persistent following up of every advantage gained, and finally his turning of the government back to the people, washed as to its shame and purified as to its corruption, constitute a chapter in his life whose reading is inspiriting to both old and young, and whose contemplation ought to be a source of pride to any man, no matter with what high honors his after life was crowned. Let it not be forgotten that he had made no quest of the honors

of office. No election fanfaronade attended his candidacy. No single act of self-glorification or self-advancement entered into his ministrations. A good and true man found a trust to be executed in a plain, honest, faithful, industrious way. The way was that of the people, and they neither failed to remember nor to thank and honor. While a local constituency were ringing the plaudit, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant!" the people of an entire State were getting ready to say, "Come up unto higher places and honors."

While yet mayor, and in the spring of 1882, he had occasion to testify to the American spirit regnant within him as presiding officer of a mass-meeting called to take action on the case of Irish-Americans then aggrieved by English tyranny and actually suffering from imprisonment in Ireland. As is well known, our foreign policy was regarded as too feeble to reach these cases and to make American citizenship respected abroad. Our minister to England seemed to be indifferent to the fate of those naturalized Irishmen who, on a visit to their native land and on natural expression of sympathy with their long-suffering countrymen, had fallen into the category of suspects, and had been, without hearing, deprived of their liberty by incarceration in British bastiles. Neither did there seem to be a sentiment at home sufficiently pronounced to demand the rights indubitably attached to the name of American. The Buffalo meeting was one of protest against a policy of weakness and timidity on the part of our government. It was directly in the interest of our citizens of foreign birth. One who had not their cause at heart, a mere politician with selfish aims, or with fears for his popularity, a trimmer for place and without character or substantial convictions, might have remanded such a matter to the Secretary of State at Washington, or complacently declined to interfere with a question which concerned only a fraction of our populace. But Mayor Cleveland was as ready to stand as the representative of American citizenship in its broadest and fullest significance as to throttle corruption in his adopted city. As chairman of this meeting, he pointed out, from a strictly legal and constitutional standpoint, and with a clearness and precision which always

characterized his presentation of pleas, the common right of native-born and adopted citizens of this country to protection from the Government at Washington the world over. Then, proceeding in a strain of earnest and impassioned eloquence, which captured every hearer, he enunciated the following doctrine, which, if incorporated as an American citizen plank into a political platform, any candidate for even so high an office as President might be proud to stand upon:

It needed not the statute which is now the law of the land, declaring that "all naturalized citizens while in foreign lands are entitled to and shall receive from this Government the same protection of person and property which is accorded to native-born citizens," to voice the policy of our nation. In all lands where the semblance of liberty is preserved, the right of a person arrested to a speedy accusation and trial is, or ought to be, a fundamental law, as it is a rule of civilization. At any rate, we hold it to be so, and this is one of the rights which we undertake to guarantee to any native-born or naturalized citizen of ours, whether he be imprisoned by order of the Czar of Russia or under the pretext of a law administered for the benefit of the landed aristocracy of England. We do not claim to make laws for other countries, but we do insist that whatsoever those laws may be, they shall, in the interests of human freedom and the rights of mankind, so far as they involve the liberty of our citizens, be speedily administered. We have a right to say, and do say, that mere suspicion without examination on trial is not sufficient to justify the long imprisonment of a citizen of America. Other nations may permit their citizens to be thus imprisoned—ours will not. And this in effect has been solemnly declared by statute. We have met here to-night to consider this subject and to inquire into the cause and the reasons and the justice of the imprisonment of certain of our fellow-citizens now held in British prisons without the semblance of a trial or legal examination. Our law declares that the Government shall act in such cases. But the people are the creators of the Government. The undaunted apostle of the Christian religion, imprisoned and persecuted, appealing centuries ago to the Roman law and the rights of Roman citizenship, boldly demanded, "Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman and uncondemned?" So, too might we ask, appealing to the law of our land and the laws of civilization, "Is it lawful that these our fellows be imprisoned who are American citizens and uncondemned?"

AS GOVERNOR.—In 1882 the political situation in New York State was peculiar. The Republican managers had nominated a ticket from Governor down, which did not reflect the sentiment of their party. It was believed to be directly in the interest of President Arthur, and to be his attempt to assume, or rather retain, control of the party machinery in the State. Fur-

ther, the methods resorted to in convention, in order to secure the nomination of favorites, were regarded as unfair and dishonorable. They were tricks, whose results were bound to recoil on their perpetrators. There was a revolt all along the line, and a determination to rebuke a procedure which savored of corruption and punish the principals who expected to find preferment in a resort to it.

Democratic candidates were not wanting who were anxious to take advantage of the situation. They saw in Republican schism an opportunity for triumph which was tempting to every adventurer. But the wiser heads of the party saw further than this. And without disparagement to the older, it must be said that the younger elements of the party composed to a large extent these wiser heads. They saw that the Republican candidates—especially Mr. Folger, candidate for Governor—were personally unobjectionable, and that the protest was not so much against men as against the ring methods which secured their nomination and the objects to be gained by such nominations. They also saw that a weak and frivolous Democratic nomination, one made on the pretext that anybody could be elected, would only serve to drive back the protesting Republicans into the deserted ranks and endanger the entire situation. Again, they saw that in order to add emphasis to the protest they must present in their candidate an assurance that, if elected, a perfectly pure State administration would ensue. The opportunity they saw was not one for a mere man; but for their party, the people, the entire State. They knew full well the difficulties attending gubernatorial administration in New York, the traps and pitfalls laid for honest men, the temptations to go astray, the impossibilities, one may say, of a perfectly straight official career, unless the incumbent should come clad in tried armor.

In looking over the interesting situation, the eyes of the party naturally turned to Grover Cleveland. In many respects the State outlook was like that which preceded his call to the mayoralty of Buffalo. At any rate, they saw in the man who was winning the encomiums of both parties for his straightforward impartial, and business-like municipal administration, the

candidate they wanted for the highest office in the State. His was a character above suspicion at the start, and one which would bear closest scrutiny even under the calcium light of a campaign. He had been tried in the severest of crucial fires, and no element of a successful executive had been found wanting He was known, too, within and without his party. All in all, Cleveland presented in himself and in his record the very guarantee the Democracy desired for themselves, and also to offer to the Republicans. So he was placed on their ticket as candidate for governor against Mr. Folger, one of the best known men in the State, and one of the ablest.

The campaign was an interesting one from the beginning. The missiles of the enemy flew thick and fast, but failed to wound or even hit the Democratic nominee. He grew stronger and stronger from the very day of his nomination. The enthusiasm his name kindled in his own party held it to a strict allegiance and drew an overflowing support. Study of his character by the protesting Republicans, and favorable knowledge of him, both as a man and official, attracted thousands directly to his standard and led other thousands to show their preference for him over their own nominee by silent acquiescence. Both parties, in the State and nation, were astounded at the result. It could hardly be called popular election—it was rather popular revolution. Never was the wisdom of a nomination so emphatically vindicated. Never did the American people voluntarily tender so lavish an ovation to one whom they honored and trusted. His vote was 535,318, as against 342,464 for his opponent, leaving him a plurality of 192,854, and a clear majority over all opposition of 155,097. The height of the wave which bore the new Governor from his home in the extreme western part of the State to the capital in the extreme eastern part, and which strewed hills and valleys with Republican wreckage, was unprecedented in political history.

The movement which made him governor, like that which had made him mayor, was not of his origination. The office had in both instances sought the man, as it should do in a republic, and as it ever will do where purely unselfish adminis-

tration is expected. Nor had he stooped to favor his chances of election. He was in the hands of the people, and his cause was their cause.

He was inaugurated, without any ostentatious display, on the first Tuesday of January, 1883. He thoroughly understood the political situation, and speedily addressed himself to the reforms which he knew were expected of him. His inaugural was brief, forcible and happy—the duplicate of the man in vigor and sincerity. It meant business. Touching the civil service of the State, he said:

> Subordinates in public place should be selected and retained for their efficiency, and not because they may be used to accomplish partisan ends. The people have a right to demand here, as in cases of private employment, that their money be paid to those who will render the best service in return, and that the appointment to and tenure of such places should depend upon ability and merit. If the clerks and assistants in public departments were paid the same compensation and required to do the same amount of work as those employed in prudently conducted private establishments, the anxiety to hold these public places would be much diminished and the cause of civil-service reform materially aided. The expenditure of money to influence the action of the people at the polls or to secure legislation is calculated to excite the gravest concern. When this pernicious agency is successfully employed a representative form of government becomes a sham, and laws passed under its baleful influence cease to protect, but are made the means by which the rights of the people are sacrificed and the public treasury despoiled. It is useless and foolish to shut our eyes to the fact that this evil exists among us, and the party which leads in an honest effort to return to better and purer methods will receive the confidence of our citizens and secure their support. It is willful blindness not to see that the people care but little for party obligations, when they are invoked to countenance and sustain fraudulent and corrupt practices. And it is well for our country and for the purification of politics that the people, at times fully roused to danger, remind their leaders that party methods should be something more than a means used to answer the purposes of those who profit by political occupation.

The first acts of an executive calculated to invite attention and criticism, as well as to foreshadow the policy of his administration, are his appointments to office. There is no public duty so delicate, none in which mistakes recoil so quickly. It is set down to Governor Cleveland's credit that his first appointments were made with rare good judgment. Political friend and foe indorsed them as the wisest selections possible, and saw at once in them an earnest of the kind of administration they had hoped for and been led to expect.

Two places were of peculiar importance—that of Superintendent of Public Works and Commissioner of the New Capitol. Public money had been running through these like water through a sieve. They were centres of immense patronage and power, and were consequently much coveted by those who would use them for political purposes. Both offices employed hundreds of men. For each of them Governor Cleveland selected a man fitted by practice and special knowledge to do the required work. They were both outspoken, square-dealing experts in the business they were called upon to conduct. After their appointment the ugly rumors of corruption which formerly centred about their places were hushed, and the people were satisfied that order and economy prevailed where once all was confusion, extravagance and distrust.

All other appointments were characterized by the same independence and close discernment of fitness and character. In so far as these acts could contribute to energy and purity of administration, it was manifest that Governor Cleveland was bound to prove an exceptional executive, that he had within him a probity, fearlessness and business address before which the better sentiment of the State must bow with respect.

It must not be supposed that he escaped the vulgar criticism of those who could not use him for their ambitious and corrupt purposes. No great, unselfish, direct, single-purposed man can act either his business or political part without incurring the opposition, and even inviting the censure, of the smaller and narrower herd who delight in detraction and feed on enmities. The measure of admiration for Governor Cleveland, while a candidate before the Chicago Convention, was well expressed by a prominent delegate who said, "I love the man for the enemies he has made." It is not complimentary to our political society to feel that true greatness is often an invitation for envious discrimination and malignant attack. Yet we fear it must be accepted as true that those virtues which we most seek and prize in public men are the very ones whose persistent exercise provoke the bitterest hostility of the tricky and unconscionable few. Out of the million voters of the Empire State, only a modicum

of mere trading politicians chose to withhold their admiration for Governor Cleveland's energetic and business-like policy, as foreshadowed and proved by his executive appointments. He showed in them all a keen analysis of character and a knowledge of official fitness which were in the highest degree complimentary. In every instance the result proved the wisdom of his choice, and in no respect has his administration been more powerfully vindicated.

In attention to the details of legislation Governor Cleveland proved himself constant, guarded and thoughtful. His messages, models of terseness and vigor, were laden with clear-cut, practical advice, so that even the most wayward could not mistake his spirit and meaning. It may well be questioned whether any State administration ever crowded into so brief a space so many substantial and far-reaching reforms. And what is more worthy of note, this monumental work was marred in but few places by idle, irrelevant and impracticable legislation, owing to his watchfulness and free use of the veto power.

Perhaps his administration was expected to achieve most in the way of reforms in the government of New York city. If judged by their extent and importance, it was wonderfully successful, and too much credit cannot be given the executive through whose agency they were effected. In urging and fostering them he had to combat an element in his own party, which had all along been defiant of interference. But the seven reform bills relating to the city went through and received his approval all the same. The autocratic power of the old Board of Aldermen was smashed, the princely incomes of county officers were cut down to respectable salaries, the political atmosphere was purified, a freer and better ballot was promised. No more difficult task ever lay before an executive. He was compelled to brave an opposition at once political and personal, clamorous and slanderous, malignant and threatening. He never swerved for a moment, but went right on. Let it be written that what fifty years of effort on the part of a score of governors failed to achieve for New York city was accomplished by Governor Cleveland in a single year of energetic, fearless and consistent administration.

The general features of his administration were no less acceptable to the people and creditable to the man and the official. The parts which have been most criticised were those which on thoughtful examination, or left alone to be judged by their results, tended most to his honor. A few of the acts must be mentioned here because their merits provoked discussion, and attempts were then made to turn them to political account. They should be understood lest, peradventure, some thoughtless person might jump at wrong conclusions respecting them.

The first one of moment was the Five-Cent Fare bill. It was deemed important as a blow of the laboring people of New York at the Elevated Railroad, or, as the cry was, at monopoly. This bill the Governor, with characteristic moral courage, and after an exhaustive examination of its provisions, vetoed. His action provoked the unreasonable hostility of those who thought themselves aggrieved. As to the merits of the bill the veto showed that it was clearly in violation of existing contracts, and unconstitutional. Approval would therefore have been a wrong. The bill would have righted nothing, but would have resulted in endless lawsuits and the expenditure of thousands of dollars of public money. Moreover it would have jeopardized the right the workingman already had, to ride, at the only hours possible for him to use the railways, at a five-cent fare. The veto was one wholly in his interest, as the sequel proved. Referring to his message, the *Tribune* editorially said:

"The message containing his reasons for so doing is straightforward and forcible, and we believe will be pronounced sound by most of those who have been strenuous in their demands for a reduction of fares on the elevated roads. His objections to the measure are of a serious nature. He argues that to suffer it to become a law would mean the impairment of the obligation of a contract, involving a breach of faith and a betrayal of confidence by the State."

The second was a Mechanics' Lien bill, which was claimed to give workingmen greater security for their wages. It was a thoughtless and carelessly drawn act. The veto in this instance

showed that the bill was wholly in the interest of lawyers and hangers-on of courts; that it largely increased the fees and costs of entering and enforcing mechanics' liens; and that either through accident or design it repealed several existing mechanics' lien laws, including one specially applicable to the city of New York. The security of workingmen's wages was evidently the last thing thought of by the framers of the bill, and workingmen themselves are clearly indebted to the Governor, in this instance, for the measure of protection they enjoy. The Governor's memorandum, in which fatal objections were noticed, read as follows:

"The bill repeals in distinct terms a number of mechanics' lien laws, including one specially applicable to the city of New York. I notice two features which I think objectionable enough to warrant me in declining to sign it. First, it gives all parties having claims four months after performance of work or furnishing of material to file a lien. Second, it allows on proceedings to enforce the lien the same costs as in foreclosure cases. This would be quite onerous, and, I think, should not be allowed."

A third was the Twelve Hour bill, limiting a day's work for employés on passenger railways to twelve hours. This bill was vetoed because it was a buncombe enactment, too loosely drawn to be effective, and violative of the sanctity of contracts made as well as the freedom of those to be made. Strict justice required the step he took. His reasons were cogently and clearly stated, and every lawyer recognized their force at the time. The Governor's memorandum, on which the veto message was based, read as follows:

"It is distinctly and palpably class legislation, in that it only applies to conductors and drivers on horse railroads. It does not prohibit the making of a contract for any number of hours' work, I think, and if it does, it is an interference with the employés' as well as employers' rights. If the car-drivers and conductors work fewer hours they must receive less pay, and this bill does not prevent that. I cannot think that this bill is in the interest of the workingman."

The Public Worship bill was one granting permission to the

Catholic clergy to hold services at the House of Refuge, on Randall's Island. This bill he never vetoed. It only passed one branch of the Assembly, and therefore never reached the Governor. Of the Catholic Protectory bill, his failure to approve which was harshly used against him, there can be but one opinion. It appropriated $30,000 to improve the sewerage of the Catholic Protectory, built by the church in Westchester county for the reception and reform of young men and women sent there by magistrates of the surrounding counties. The laws of the State prevent the use of public moneys for sectarian uses. The fate of the bill would have been the same had the institution been Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Episcopalian, or that of any other denomination. He was merely keeping his oath to observe and execute the laws.

The unseemly attempt to force a religious issue into a political campaign, based on the Governor's action respecting the above bill, has already been deprecated by leading spokesmen for the church.

Of this very bill, Mr. Henry L. Hoguet, president of the Protectory, says:

"We never doubted the sincerity of the motive which induced Governor Cleveland to withhold his signature to the appropriation to the Protectory. We thought then, and think now, that he was not actuated by any feeling of bigotry or of hostility to Catholics or the Catholic institutions. On the contrary, Governor Cleveland is liberal in the extreme, and we are of the firm belief that he was led to withholding his approval of the appropriation solely by a sense of public duty as he viewed it."

Ex-Senator Kernan has well said, "Is it to be supposed for a moment that the Catholic Church of this country is in the hands of a pack of politicians? Is its power and influence to be bartered away by any man or set of men? That sort of campaign bosh I consider malicious, and a direct insult to every Catholic in the country. During Mr. Cleveland's administration as Governor of New York he has acted judiciously in distributing his appointments. He has favored no class or creed. He has given a fair share of his patronage to Catholics."

And so the *Buffalo Catholic Union:*

"Catholics, as such, have asked nothing of Governor Cleveland, and they would be very foolish to do it. Catholics have no right to expect from Governor or from President anything as Catholics, or on the score of religion. But we have a right to be treated as citizens on a perfect equality with all other religious denominations, and that no discrimination shall be made against us because we are Catholics. Justice, fair play and equal rights are all we claim; and we were not worthy of the high privilege of American citizenship were we content with less.

"Catholic citizens should hold to strict account at the ballot box those who would refuse or deny them perfect equality and equal rights with all other denominations. In general we are proud to say that our fellow-citizens do recognize, practically acknowledge our equal rights before the law; and when 'Governor Cleveland treated Catholics and Catholic interests precisely as he did the members of other religious bodies and their interests,' he only acted as an honest American executive."

It was also loosely charged that he vetoed an important bill which prevented contract labor by children under a certain age. As to this we quote his own language:

"I am sometimes afraid that at least a few of those who pose as friends of the workingmen do not keep themselves fully informed as to what is done for them by way of legislation. As an illustration I see it stated in the papers as coming from one who professes to be especially the friend of the workingmen, and claiming to be a leader among them, that I vetoed a bill preventing contract labor by children in the reformatories and institutions of the State. In point of fact, this bill was promptly signed by me, and no other measure touching this question has been presented to me."

Much account was also made of his veto of the Tenure of Office bill. But his veto message in this as in all other instances came to his rescue. The bill was glaringly defective, and the Governor gave his reasons for his course in a message which left no doubt of it at the time. The friends of the bill agreed with him in believing that the measure as it reached him was defec-

tive and ought not to become a law. Mr. Francis M. Scott, who drafted the bill and worked most earnestly for its passage, published a letter in which he said that the Governor was perfectly right in vetoing the measure, because as it reached him "it was a very shabby piece of legislation, quite unfit to find a place on the statute book."

Altogether his use of the veto power proved discreet and was sanctioned by intelligent popular approval. His messages were all well-studied, clear-cut papers, evidences of exhaustive analysis of measures and deep research respecting them, and assurances of the most impartial motive and deepest rectitude of intention. Judged by his vetoes alone, which were necessarily frequent, his administration not only attracted the widest approval but stood unparalleled for its vigor and consistency. A feeble man, one without the true executive instinct, would have quailed before corrupting pressure or unreasoning clamor, and often given sanction to measures which his inner conscience disapproved. But Grover Cleveland moved on a highly conscientious plane, regardless of partisan appeal, brutal threat or slanderous arrow, never counting the bearing his conduct might have on his personal or political fortune, apparently bound only to the discharge of a duty he owed to the whole people. There is observable at every turn of his executive career stern adhesion to the cardinal principles that preserved and honored his youth and gave him a firm foothold among his fellow-citizens as an humble attorney. His scrutiny of every bill was close, and attended with a sharp legal insight. As he had been his own counsellor while mayor, so he was really his own Attorney-General while Governor. His vetoes stood every test applied to them, and not one rejected bill was passed over his protest. Many bills were returned because improperly and loosely drawn. These, when amended so as to be no longer inconsequential or mere deadwood accumulations on the statute books, he afterwards approved. Whether in signing bills or rejecting them he bestowed a diligence, patience, and competent inquiry which have elicited the warmest esteem of the fair-minded people of the State. They looked upon him as a strong, deter-

mined, unselfish man in whom, as executive, there was full security. It was this very sense of security that put him in the minds of the people as candidate for President, and made him so successful a nominee.

It must not be imagined that his tenacity of principle and disregard of consequences made him indifferent or conservative. On the contrary he was ever alive to surroundings, watchful of the movements of public sentiment, and at the front as a progressist, whether the column was political, social or moral. The Civil Service Act for the State of New York, a miniature of the system recently adopted by the General Government, received his unqualified sanction. Of the same spirit were the Reform bills for New York city, and numberless others to mention which would be tiresome.

EXECUTIVE HABITS.—The business of Governor Cleveland's office was conducted with the regularity of clock-work. Method prevailed everywhere. He came and went at stated hours, if we except the long hours of evening when there was pressure of work; then he stayed till far into the night in order to keep his executive business well in hand. His industry did not permit him to load others with responsibility. The burden which was his own he bore with alacrity. The judgment which was his own, and which always carried such convincing weight, was based on his personal examination of public acts, his actual inquiry into public affairs, his direct knowledge of public events. As to equipment for carrying on the business of State, perfectly modulated department machinery, systematic direction of energy and consumption of time, intelligent control of whatever concerned the common weal, his office was a model and its directorship a profitable study.

PERSONNEL.—Governor Cleveland was called the "bachelor Governor," and he was not a rich one as some maliciously averred and too many supposed. At his home in Buffalo, he boarded at the Tifft House, and lived in easy style amid a group of bachelor friends who enjoyed comfortable incomes. An examination of the assessor's books shows that he paid taxes on $5,000 of personal property, and owned no real estate.

His figure is tall, broad and commanding, with a tendency to

corpulency, which, as yet, does not interfere with great activity and incessant industry. His face is regular, clear-cut, and handsome. It is what might be called a parental face, being reserved yet genial, firm yet kind, dignified yet not distant. His business manner is brusque and simple, precisely that required for despatch. His social mood is pleasant and assuring. He is, when not pressed with business care, open to all comers, and all, from the rag-picker to prince, find his hand extended, his hearing patient, his demeanor cordial. Though of nervous temperament he is easy in society, and reserved in emergency. His complexion is light, his hair brown and thin, his full, square and shapely head inclined to baldness. He delights in association with his own sex, but does not incline to mixed and fashionable society. The executive residence at Albany is a half mile distant from the capitol. This distance he always walked both ways. His bosom is full of the milk of human kindness and his heart big enough to take in all mankind. An anecdote, while he was Governor, is apropos

The crier in one of the courts of Albany was a blind man, who lived in the same part of the city as the Governor. He was somewhat aged and had become so familiar with the road from his home over to the court-house that he generally went alone. But one morning he missed his way, and the Governor coming along took him by the arm and brought him along with him as far as the capitol building. As they were about to separate, the old gentleman asked the name of his considerate guide.

"My name is Cleveland," said the Governor.

"Are you in business in the city?"

"Yes. I have an office up here in the capitol."

"Oh, you are not the Governor?"

"Yes. I am the Governor."

The poor old fellow was almost beside himself, and went on his way with a story to tell as long as he lived.

A well-known correspondent, writing of an interview with the Governor shortly after his first nomination for the Presidency, says:—

"When the Governor gets well settled in his chair, takes a good

long breath, and adjusts his glasses on the lower part of his nose, he looks as wise, as mellow, and as sunshiny as Benjamin Franklin. He looks as though it would take a very considerable shock to knock him off his balance. I asked him the other day if he read the papers that abused him.

"'Sometimes,' said he, with a smile that broke out all over his face.

"'Do you ever get disturbed over anything they say?'

"'Not much. Every man has a right to enjoy his own mind. I remember an old fellow who was a neighbor of my father and we would sometimes try to get him to come over to our church. He was a strong Baptist, and he would always say: "No; you folks are Presbyterians, and if I go over to your church I couldn't enjoy my mind." Of course, that was the end of the argument.'

"'What was the most annoying slander they have ever published about you, Governor?'

"'Well, I have been more surprised (and then he did twist just a little in his chair) at the way I have been misrepresented as to the laboring men than anything else. I don't see how the idea ever got out in the first place that I have been opposed to the interests of laboring men. I cannot remember one single act in my life that could be reasonably construed into anything inimical to their best interests. It has been just the other way with me. I have always taken particular pains, whenever it was in my power, to see their interests well guarded. But I have no fear as to the outcome. I have observed that laboring men have minds of their own as well as political principles, and when there has been a full investigation of my official life the facts will be made known, and I am not uneasy as to the result. They talk about the workingmen as if they were a lot of sheep to be corralled or scattered by this man or that. Most workingmen are natural Democrats. Democracy means the rule of the people, and the Democratic party has always been the natural friend of the workingmen. I do not think any great number of those who are in my party will fail to vote for me, first, because they are naturally disposed to go with their party, and second, because they will learn long before election day that my attitude toward them has been misrepresented.'

"The Governor had grown serious enough to lay his glasses on the desk and wipe his face with an immense white handkerchief."

THE TAMMANY QUESTION.—The Tammany attitude toward Governor Cleveland has been so much commented upon, that it is well to know his status respecting it. It was never one of hostility, except in so far as Tammany chose to make it such; and, as was proved after the Chicago Convention, it failed to project its hostility into the campaign. That organization did, at first, undertake to wrestle with the Governor through its senatorial spokesman, who made the mistake of forcing the measures of a society rather than honestly representing the people of a district. Feeling that he was agent for a clique, and responsible to its head, by whom he was selected, the Governor sent a missive directly to headquarters, which, in a fearless, straight-forward way, made known his sentiments. It ran thus:

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, ALBANY, October 20, 1883.—Hon. John Kelly—My dear Sir: It is not without hesitation that I write this. I have determined to do so, however, because I see no reason why I should not be entirely frank with you. I am anxious that Mr. Grady should not be returned to the next Senate. I do not wish to conceal the fact that my personal comfort and satisfaction are involved in this matter. But I know that good legislation, based upon a pure desire to promote the interests of the people, and the improvement of legislative methods are also deeply involved. I forbear to write in detail of the other considerations having relation to the welfare of the party and the approval to be secured by a change for the better in the character of its representatives. These things will occur to you without suggestion from me. Yours very truly, GROVER CLEVELAND.

No comment on this is needed, except that somebody mistook Governor Cleveland's unalterable purpose to have "good legislation" and "improvement of legislative methods" in New York city as well as elsewhere.

AT CHICAGO.—Long before the meeting of the Chicago Convention indications pointed to Governor Cleveland as the proper Democratic nominee for President. The political situation was such as to make New York a pivotal State in the Presidential contest. His fame as an executive had gone abroad in the land. He had the prestige of unprecedented majority in

his favor when he carried off the honors of Governor. He, more than any other man spoken of, was the embodiment of all the great qualities which combined in the formation of an ideal leader. He typed the instincts and sentiments of a younger Democracy who loved his independence of character, his sterling methods, his sublime mastery of circumstances. He stood for what the older Democracy most cherished, adherence to patriotic tradition, plain, common sense devotion to principle, economic and business-like execution of high official trust. There was only one ripple in the current running toward his nomination. That was occasioned by the Tammany pebble at the bottom of the stream. There the stream murmured, but ran rapidly on, its murmur a laugh.

The Convention was thoroughly representative of the Democratic party. As the presiding officer, Col. William F. Vilas, said, "The Convention was the greatest and most magnificent council of freemen ever assembled on the face of God's round globe. For three days it listened to a 'profound debate from the greatest speakers in the country' upon the various candidates, and the point of order was justly raised that it was contrary to the rules governing the Convention to thus discuss the candidates, but it was unanimously voted by the Convention that the freest discussion should be permitted, in order to develop all the facts obtainable. The debate of three days left no doubt in the minds of the delegates as to whom the choice of the Convention should be."

It was particularly noteworthy that amid all the caucusing for rival candidates, amid the arguments educed for favorites from respective States and sections, amid the formal presentation of names to the Convention, no Democratic orator of high and unquestioned standing in his party ever spoke a derogatory word of Governor Cleveland or expressed a doubt of the propriety and fitness of his nomination. It is equally noteworthy that the magic of his name was such as to hold his State delegation as a unit and turn every malignant attempt to break it into an argument and inspiration in his behalf.

At 3.55 P. M. of July 9th, 1884, Mr. Lockwood, N. Y., took

the platform to place in nomination the name of Grover Cleveland. He did this in an eloquent speech, in which he said:

The responsibility which he felt was made greater when he remembered that the richest pages of American history had been made up from the records of Democratic administrations, and remembered that the outrage of 1876 was still unavenged. No man had a greater respect than he for the honored names presented to the Convention, but the world was moving, and new men, who had participated but little in politics, were coming to the front. Three years ago he had the honor in the city of Buffalo to present the name of the same gentleman for the office of mayor. Without hesitation the name of Grover Cleveland had been accepted as the candidate. [Applause in the galleries and delegations.]

The result of that election and of the holding of that office was that in less than nine months the State of New York found itself in a position to want such a candidate, and when in the Convention of 1882 his name was presented for the office of Governor of the State of New York the same class of people knew that that meant honest government; that it meant pure government; that it meant Democratic government, and it was ratified. Now the State of New York came and asked that there be given to the Independent and Democratic voters of the country —the young men of the country, the new blood of the country—the name of Grover Cleveland.

The nomination was eloquently seconded by Harrison of Illinois and Jones of Minnesota.

The first ballot was had on the night of the 10th. The friends of Governor Cleveland had computed his strength at 397 votes. Their count proved to be exceedingly close. To show how his strength was diversified as well as its chief sources a view must be taken of the ballot itself:

THE FIRST BALLOT.

States and Territories.	Cleveland.	Randall.	Thurman.	Bayard.	McDonald.	Hoadly.	Carlisle.
Alabama	4	..	1	14	1	..	..
Arkansas	14	..	..	..	..	..	..
California	..	..	16	..	..	..	..
Colorado	..	..	1	..	5	..	..
Connecticut	12	..	..	..	..	..	..
Delaware	..	..	..	6	..	..	..
Florida	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
Georgia	10	2	..	12	..	..	..
Illinois	28	1	1	2	11	..	..
Indiana	..	..	..	..	30	..	..
Iowa	23	..	1	1	1	..	..
Kansas	11	..	2	5	..	..	..
Kentucky	..	..	..	..	..	..	26

THE FIRST BALLOT—*Continued.*

States and Territories.	Cleveland.	Randall.	Thurman.	Bayard.	McDonald.	Hoadly.	Carlisle.
Louisiana	13	..	..	1	..	1	..
Maine	12	..	..	..	..	..	..
Maryland	6	..	..	10	..	..	..
Massachusetts	3	..	2	23	..	..	..
Michigan	14	..	..	..	..	..	..
Minnesota	14	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mississippi	1	1	1	15	..	..	..
Missouri	15	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nebraska	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nevada	..	..	6	..	..	..	..
New Hampshire	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
New Jersey	4	11	..	3	..	..	..
New York	72	..	..	..	..	..	..
North Carolina	..	..	..	22	..	..	..
*Ohio	1	..	24	..	..	21	..
Oregon	2	..	..	4	..	..	..
Pennsylvania	5	55	..	..	..	..	..
Rhode Island	6	..	..	2	..	..	..
South Carolina	8	..	..	10	..	..	..
Tennessee	2	..	9	8	3	..	..
Texas	11	..	4	10	1	..	..
Vermont	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
Virginia	13	..	1	9	1	..	..
*West Virginia	4	3	2	3	..	..	..
Wisconsin	12	..	2	1	2	..	1
Total	392	78	88	170	56	3	27

* Before the announcement of the result Ohio's vote was changed to following: Thurman, 23; Hoadly, 2; Cleveland, 21. West Virginia: Randall, 1; Bayard, 2; Cleveland, 7; Thurman, 2.

SCATTERING.—Tilden received 1 vote in Tennessee, Hendricks 1 in Illinois, Flower 4 in Wisconsin.

At 11.20 A. M. of the 11th, the second ballot began, and ended at 1 P. M. Every face and movement in the vast assemblage betrayed the nervous anxiety with which the result was looked forward to. The withdrawal of Mr. Randall's name was attended with great excitement, as it seemed to be clearing the Pennsylvania delegation for determined action in some new direction. The withdrawal of McDonald's name was to make way for that of Mr. Hendricks, upon whom all the opposition to Mr. Cleveland thought they could consolidate. The balloting proceeded amid intense suspense, and with satisfactory gains for Cleveland until Pennsylvania was called. Forty-two of her votes went to Cleveland. This broke the spell that held the Convention. Amid exciting cheers and enthusiastic bustle the States began to rearrange their votes as if on final ballot. The

result was Cleveland's nomination by 683 votes, or 136 more than the necessary two-thirds.

THE SECOND BALLOT.

States and Territories.	Cleveland.	Bayard.	McDonald.	Thurman.	Randall.	Hendricks
Alabama	5	14	1	..	..	..
Arkansas	14	..	..	..	..	..
California	16	..	..	..	..	..
Colorado	6	..	..	..	..	..
Connecticut	12	..	..	..	..	..
Delaware	..	6	..	..	..	..
Florida	8	..	..	..	..	..
Georgia	22	2	..	..	..	..
Illinois	43	..	1	..	..	..
Indiana	30	..	..	..	..	..
Iowa	26	..	..	..	..	..
Kansas	17	1	..	..	..	..
Kentucky	4	21	..	1	..	..
Louisiana	15	..	..	1	..	..
Maine	12	..	..	..	..	..
Maryland	16	..	..	..	..	..
Massachusetts	8	7½	..	..	..	12½
Michigan	23	..	..	..	..	3
Minnesota	14	..	..	..	..	..
Mississippi	2	14	..	..	..	2
Missouri	32	..	..	..	..	..
Nebraska	9	1	..	..	..	..
Nevada	..	..	..	1	..	5
New Hampshire	8	..	..	..	..	..
New Jersey	5	2	..	..	..	11
New York	72	..	..	..	..	..
North Carolina	22	..	..	..	..	..
Ohio	46	..	..	..	..	..
Oregon	6	..	..	..	..	..
Pennsylvania	42	2	..	1	4	11
Rhode Island	7	1	..	..	..	..
South Carolina	10	8	..	..	..	..
Tennessee	24	..	..	..	..	..
Texas	26	..	..	..	..	..
Vermont	8	..	..	..	..	..
Virginia	23	..	..	..	..	1
West Virginia	10	2	..	..	..	..
Wisconsin	22	..	..	..	..	..
Arizona	2	..	..	..	..	..
Dakota	2	..	..	..	..	..
Idaho	2	..	..	..	..	..
Montana	2	..	..	..	..	..
New Mexico	2	..	..	..	..	..
Utah	2	..	..	..	..	..
Washington Territory	2	..	..	..	..	..
Wyoming	2	..	..	..	..	..
Dist. of Columbia	2	..	..	..	..	..
Total	683	81½	2	4	4	45½

Necessary for choice, 547.

The general result was announced as follows: Whole number of votes cast, 820; necessary to a choice, 547. Cleveland received 683; Hendricks, 45½; Bayard, 81½; McDonald, 2; Randall, 4; Thurman, 4. The question was then put on Mr. Menzies' motion to make the nomination unanimous, and it was carried triumphantly.

It may be profitable at this point to glance at the Democratic conventions of the past. The nominations made therein for the last fifty years are as follows:

1836, Martin Van Buren, 1st ballot.
1840, Martin Van Buren, unanimously.
1844, James K. Polk, 9th ballot.
1848, Lewis Cass, 4th ballot.
1852, Franklin Pierce, 49th ballot.
1856, James Buchanan, 17th ballot.
1860, John C. Breckinridge, 56th ballot.
1864, George B. McClellan, 1st ballot.
1868, Horatio Seymour, 23d ballot.
1872, Horace Greeley, endorsed.
1876, Samuel J. Tilden, 2d ballot.
1880, Winfield S. Hancock, 2d ballot.
1884, Grover Cleveland, 2d ballot. 1888, by acclamation.

The 1860 convention that nominated Breckinridge balloted fifty-five times at Charleston, S. C., then adjourned to Baltimore, June 18, when Breckinridge was unanimously nominated on the first ballot. The "bolters" met the same day and nominated Stephen A. Douglas on the first ballot. In 1852 Franklin Pierce's name first appeared on the thirty-fifth ballot, when Virginia gave him her fifteen votes. Lewis Cass and James Buchanan were the leading candidates on forty-five ballots, but at no time did either have a majority of the convention, while a two-thirds vote was required to nominate.

RECEPTION OF THE NEWS.—The news of Governor Cleveland's nomination was received with demonstrations of delight by the Democratic party and by the independent element of the Republican party. Party newspapers in general spoke of it as a hopeful and proper political step. Large ratification

meetings were improvised in city and village, at which great enthusiasm prevailed, and from which proceeded hearty endorsement of the Convention's action. What is known as the independent, or bolting Republican press, was, if anything, more encomiastic than the regular Democratic press. The sentiments of a few of these will type the whole:

Governor Cleveland will be supported by a united and aggressive Democratic party. He will have the votes of tens of thousands of Independent Republicans. He will have the support of the larger part of successful newspapers of the country, both secular and religious. He will have the confidence and votes of the business men of the land. It will be shown that this poor boy who has worked his way up to the proud position which he now holds knows what it is to work day in and day out, and that he is a true friend of the toiling masses.—Boston *Globe* (Butler's organ).

The nomination of Governor Cleveland defines sharply the actual issue of the Presidential election of this year. He is a man whose absolute official integrity has never been questioned, who has no laborious and doubtful explanations to undertake, and who is universally known as the Governor of New York elected by an unprecedented majority which was not partisan, and represented both the votes and the consent of an enormous body of Republicans, and who as the Chief Executive of the State has steadily withstood the blandishments and the threats of the worst elements of his party, and has justly earned the reputation of a courageous, independent, and efficient friend and promoter of administrative reform. His name has become that of the especial representative among our public men of the integrity, purity, and economy of administration which are the objects of the most intelligent and patriotic citizens.—*Harper's Weekly.*

It is not only in what he clearly represents but in what he distinctly opposes that Grover Cleveland is strong before the American people. His career has made him the exponent of clean and honest politics. In the administration of public trusts he has shown that he is superior to partisan bias, indifferent to such party interests as are in contact with official probity and the public welfare. He has been severely tried in the important and responsible post he now occupies. He has resisted the importunities of designing politicians, he has defeated the purposes of selfish schemers. All those members of his own party who are not absorbed in private aims which are in conflict with the public good are outspoken in his praise; and he has won the good opinion of all Republicans who are not so far gone in partisanship as to have lost the power to commend upright conduct in a political adversary.—N. Y. *Times.*

Of the kind of experience which the present situation in national affairs most imperatively calls for, experience in administration, Cleveland has more than any one who has entered the White House since 1860, more than any man whom either party has nominated within that period, except Seymour and Tilden—more than Lincoln more than Grant, more than Hayes, more than Garfield, more than Arthur.

He laid at the start that best of all foundations for American statesmanship by becoming a good lawyer. He began his executive career by being a good county sheriff. He was next intrusted with the administration of a great city—as severe a test of a man's capacity in dealing with men and affairs as any American in our time can undergo. In both offices he gave boundless satisfaction to his fellow-citizens of both parties. His nomination for the Governorship of this State came in due course, and at a crisis in State affairs which very closely resembled that which we are now witnessing in national affairs. His election by an unprecedented majority is now an old story. It was the beginning of a revolution. It was the first thorough fright the tricky and jobbing element in politics ever received here. It for the first time in their experience gave reform an air of reality. But it might, had Cleveland proved a weak or incompetent man, have turned out a very bad blow for pure politics.

Luckily, he justified all the expectations and even all the hopes of those who voted for him. No friend of good government, who, in disregard of party ties, cast his vote for him, has had reason to regret it for one moment. We owe to his vigorous support a large number of reformatory measures, which people in this State for forty years had sighed for with little more expectation of seeing them enacted than of seeing the Millennium. In other words, he has arrested the growth of political despair among large numbers both of young and old voters in this State. His messages, too, have been models of sound common sense and penetrating sagacity, clothed in the terse and vigorous English which shows that there is a man and not a windy phrasemonger behind the pen. Though last not least, his best work has been done in utter disregard of the hostility of that element in his own party which for so many years has made it an object of mingled hate and fear to the best part of the American people. He is, in truth, a Democrat of the better age of the Democratic party, when it was a party of simplicity and economy, and might almost have put its platform into the golden rule of giving every man his due, minding your own business, and asking nothing of government but light taxes, and security in the field and by the fireside. No one who has entered the White House for half a century, except Lincoln in his second term, has offered reformers such solid guarantees that as President he will do his own thinking, and be his own master in the things which pertain to the Presidency.—N. Y. *Evening Post.*

Governor Cleveland has shown through the whole of his life, private and public, from boyhood to his present distinction, that he has the sterling qualities befitting the exalted office of Chief Executive of the United States. It is the highest function of that office to administer the laws with an eye single to the public welfare. Our Government has been tersely described as "of the people, by the people, and for the people." No eminent public man has exhibited a better understanding of that definition of the American government than Grover Cleveland; none has exemplified it better than he has in his performance of public duty, and but few, very few indeed, have exemplified it so well. His guiding characteristics have been loyalty to duty, courage in the discharge of it, and the best and most faithful performance of it within his power. These are strong words; strong because they are true. —Philadelphia *Ledger.*

The Governor himself received the news of the nomination

with entire equanimity. He had not shown himself ambitious of the honors, had done nothing directly to secure them. They came as a free-will offering, and by virtue of a record made in the path of duty. He would not have been disappointed had the Convention in its wisdom seen fit to similarly honor some one else. Yet he did not shirk the responsibilities which he knew were inseparable from candidacy, nor fail to announce himself as gratified with his political preference. During a serenade at the Executive mansion on the evening after his nomination he delivered the following tasteful and timely speech:

Fellow-citizens—I cannot but be gratified with this kindly greeting. I find that I am fast reaching the point where I shall count the people of Albany not merely as fellow-citizens, but as townsmen and neighbors. On this occasion I am of course aware that you pay no compliment to a citizen and present no personal tribute, but that you have come to demonstrate your loyalty and devotion to a cause in which you are heartily enlisted. The American people are about to exercise in its highest sense their power and right of sovereignty. They are to call in review before them their public servants and the representatives of political parties, and demand of them an account of their stewardship. Parties may be so long in power and may become so arrogant and careless of the interests of the people as to grow heedless of their responsibility to their masters. But the time comes as certainly as death when the people weigh them in the balance. The issues to be adjudicated by the nation's great assize are made up and are about to be submitted. We believe that the people are not receiving at the hands of the party which for nearly twenty-four years has directed the affairs of the nation the full benefits to which they are entitled—pure, just and economical rule, and we believe that the ascendency of genuine Democratic principles will insure a better Government and greater happiness and prosperity to all the people. To reach the sober thought of the nation and to dislodge an enemy entrenched behind spoils and patronage involves a struggle which, if we underestimate, we invite defeat. I am profoundly impressed with the responsibility of the part assigned to me in this contest. My heart, I know, is in the cause, and I pledge you that no effort of mine shall be wanting to secure the victory which I believe to be within the achievement of the Democratic hosts. Let us, then, enter upon the campaign now fairly opened, each one appreciating well the part he has to perform, ready with solid front to do battle for better government, confidently, courageously, always honorably, and with a firm reliance upon the intelligence and patriotism of the American people.

The nomination of Governor Cleveland for the Presidency was fittingly followed in Convention by the nomination of that sterling old Democrat, Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, for the Vice-Presidency. These two made a ticket which proved a

source of inspiration to the party. Even if it at first failed to awaken the enthusiasm provoked by the Republican leaders, Blaine and Logan, it had better staying powers. Geographically it was a tower of strength, for Mr. Cleveland represented the fighting-ground in the East, while Mr. Hendricks represented it in the West. Both candidates were thus at an advantage which it would require more than personal magnetism and campaign clatter on the part of opponents to overcome.

THE CAMPAIGN.—The Convention backed up these able candidates by an admirable platform, and the memorable Presidential campaign of 1884 was duly opened. Cleveland and Hendricks had not only to contend with the Republican nominees, who were both strong and brilliant campaignists, backed by a party which had won victories for twenty-four years and with all the patronage of the government in its control, but with that veteran campaignist, B. F. Butler, who headed the Labor ticket, and St. John, who headed the Prohibitionists. The campaign at first took a vicious, personal turn, but this diversion soon spent its force and the more serious questions involved came to the surface. At this point Cleveland's reform record in New York came mightily to his aid His career had been brief, to be sure, but it had also been one of consistency and persistency, and admiration for it proved a wall which could not be shaken by the enemy's batteries. He held his party throughout one of the most heated campaigns known to American history, and his strength was constantly augmented by accessions from the Republican ranks, all of whom claimed to see in him the embodiment of the reform spirit which seemed to be abroad in the land. In the very last stages of what every political observer felt to be a desperate battle, when the scales of victory were tipping now this way and now that, the Republican candidate tried the effect of his powerful personalism directly on New York State, to which the contest had, by common consent, narrowed. It is not worth while to inquire how much this attempt was worth, nor whether it lost or won the battle. Speculation is out of place in the face of figures. The official returns of New York showed a plurality of 1,047 votes for Cleveland and Hendricks, which as-

sured them twenty out of the thirty-eight States, a majority of thirty-seven votes in the electoral college and a popular vote of 4,911,017, as against 4,848,334 for Blaine and Logan.

It thus passed to the credit of Grover Cleveland that he headed the ticket which won the first Presidential victory for his party in twenty-four years, and that, too, against the one man whom the Republican party claimed to be invincible. Not only this, the victory was a political revolution which even enthusiasts of his own party thought to be impossible a few months before, so strongly were the Republicans entrenched in power and so skilful were they in party manipulation.

But while the national election brought to Cleveland, Hendricks and the Democratic party a great victory, it brought also a responsibility which the party had never before been called upon to meet, for not only parties, but the nation had made great strides forward since the days of President Buchanan. How would the new President and Vice-President meet this responsibility? Would they prove safe guardians of the greatest and gravest public trust in the world? Would they honor themselves, their party, the people at large, our American institutions? Unfortunately, the Vice-President did not live long enough (he died November 25, 1885) to contribute much by counsel to the success of the administration of which he was an honored part. But, fortunately, the elections of the year 1884 gave to the lower house of Congress a majority of Democrats. The new President could find in this fact a source of encouragement. With or without these, however, he would move boldly and confidently forward in the line of duty, as he had moved before, and trust to the honest sentiment of his countrymen for appreciative support.

AS PRESIDENT.—Mr. Cleveland was not carried away with the high honors conferred upon him by the American people. A few modest responses to the many congratulations showered upon him marked the extent of his exultation. He had not, owing to official duties, plunged actively into the campaign, and he felt that his success was due to his record rather than his personalism. Moreover, he had a keen sense of the graver ob-

ligations soon to be assumed and could not afford to indulge in the lighter play of feelings which simple victory might have warranted. He was President now, and this distinction meant, to one of his temperament, adhesion to duty, desire for reform and full sense of responsibility, far more than to the ambitious and ostentatious politician. He could see ahead of him mighty questions which pressed for attention and solution, and towering above all was the problem of a policy which should meet the terrible exactions of party and at the same time address itself to the judgments of that intelligent Republican contingent which stood by him through the fierce flames of the campaign.

No President ever came into office with a greater prestige for independent thoughts and sound business methods, and none with more freedom from the trammels of partisanship. He had the best wishes of the nation at his back, and in every respect was in an enviable situation for mapping his future plans without haste and with the least possible interference from party busybodies.

When officially notified of his selection he wrote an admirable letter of acceptance, in which he took high ground as to the nature of public office, looking upon it wholly as a public trust, to be administered for the benefit of the people. In view of the dangers which attended administrations whose chiefs sought reelection, he deprecated the seeking of second terms on the part of Presidents and the turning of party machinery to personal ends. The letter was well received by the country and proved an earnest of what was to come when the new administration should get fairly on its feet.

President Cleveland was inaugurated on March 4, 1885, amid ceremonies which were truly national. The throng of visitors at the National Capitol was estimated at half a million. Inauguration day was auspicious in its spring-like brightness and balm. Flags floated from all the public buildings and the spacious avenues were gay with decorations. The procession was the largest that ever passed over Pennsylvania avenue, and the military escort, made up of battalions from the various States, was exceeded only by the great reviews which took place at the close of the

civil war in 1865. General H. W. Slocum was chief marshal, and the United States troops were under command of Major-General Ayres. President Arthur and President-elect Cleveland rode with two Senators in an open carriage drawn by four bay horses, and next came Vice-President-elect Hendricks in a carriage with Senators, drawn by four white horses. The procession passed along amid vociferous cheers from the multitudes on either side.

The objective point was the Senate chamber in the Capitol, where were already assembled the Supreme Court, the Diplomatic Corps and many prominent officials of the army and navy. Shortly before twelve o'clock President Arthur entered the chamber and was escorted to his seat. The deputy sergeant-at-arms then announced the "President-elect of the United States," and the entire assemblage rose as Mr. Cleveland passed down the aisle and took his seat by the side of President Arthur. Vice-President Hendricks then entered and advanced to the desk of the presiding officer, Senator Edmunds, president *pro tempore*, who administered to him the oath of office and declared the Senate adjourned *sine die*. Vice-President Hendricks then took the chair, delivered a short address, called the Senate to order and administered the oath to the new Senators. When the Senate had thus been organized, a procession was formed by those in the chamber which moved to the platform erected in front of the eastern portico of the Capitol. In front, upon the plaza, stood 200,000 people, who received the President-elect with deafening applause. As soon as silence could be commanded he delivered his inaugural in such a rich, clear voice that it was heard by nearly all in that vast assemblage. When he had finished he turned to Chief-Justice Waite and said: "I am now ready to take the oath prescribed by law." The Chief-Justice held in his hand a small Bible which had been given to Mr. Cleveland by his mother when he had started to seek his fortune in the world. Placing his right hand on this he received the oath of office and then kissed the sacred book, his lips touching verses 5–10, inclusive, of the 112th Psalm.

Then those on the platform congratulated the President, the

multitude made the welkin ring with cheers, a hundred bands played "Hail to the Chief," and the cannon at the navy yard and arsenal thundered forth the "Presidential salute." The procession re-formed, with President Cleveland at its head. It marched to the White House, where the President took the grand stand and reviewed the immense procession as it passed by for three long hours. In the evening came fireworks and the inauguration ball, participated in by 10,000 people. This was regarded as a fitting close to the brilliant ceremonies of the day.

In the President's brief and chaste inaugural he pledged himself and his administration to a close observance of the Constitution and laws; to peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations and entangling alliances with none; to care for the public domain and fair treatment of the Indians; to rigid enforcement of the laws against polygamy and the immigration of foreign servile classes; to strict execution of the civil service laws on the principle announced in his letter of acceptance, that public office is a public trust; to limitation of public expenditure to actual needs of government. The document was a plain statement of the President's views, and was satisfying in every respect. It gave promise that he would launch his administration on broad and safe waters, and would not dare that which was entirely novel, brilliant and startling. He preferred to be reposeful rather than dashing, sure of his ground rather than take chances in a sudden rush for notoriety over surfaces which had not been surveyed and mapped by political pioneers.

During his first months in office President Cleveland proceeded quietly and cautiously toward the adoption of a policy and purpose. He examined every situation with care, and perhaps gave closer personal attention to routine work than any predecessor in the high office. He was young, vigorous in mind and body and a lover of detail. He had surrounded himself with the following admirable Cabinet, which was regarded as happily chosen and thoroughly representative of the best interests of his party and the country at large:

Secretary of State.....Thomas F. Bayard, Del.
Secretary of Treasury.....Daniel Manning, N. Y.

Secretary of War.....Wm. C. Endicott, Mass.
Secretary of Navy.....Wm. C. Whitney, N. Y.
Secretary of Interior.....L. Q. C. Lamar, Miss.
Attorney-General.....Aug. H. Garland, Ark.
Postmaster General.....Wm. F. Vilas, Wis.

This was a body of counsellors in which any administration might place the utmost confidence. He was no less fortunate in having for his private secretary Colonel Daniel S. Lamont, who had served him faithfully in that capacity when he was Governor and who had such a comprehensive knowledge of public men and political life as is vouchsafed to few. The possessor of great personal urbanity, always clear-headed, very reticent, especially concerning executive affairs, he was emphatically the "right man in the right place."

At the Cabinet meetings held at the executive mansion, the President sits at the head of the council table and the members occupy positions on either side, the Secretary of State coming first at his right and the Secretary of the Treasury first at his left. The Secretary of the Interior occupies the end opposite to the President. In some administrations—notably those of Taylor and Pierce—the members of the Cabinet assumed a power they did not really possess in law and became almost Venetian in their oligarchical spirit. But Mr. Cleveland has not chosen to act the part of King Log in these councils, and his voice has ever been that of a leader when questions touching the policy of his administration arose. His habit of assuming responsibility was not remitted in the least amid higher honors and more imposing place, and he came to be known as the most untiring worker and closest student of affairs in the grand councils of the nation.

FIRST MESSAGE.—From the date of inauguration to the opening of the Forty-ninth Congress, Dec. 7, 1885, the administration of President Cleveland moved smoothly and satisfactorily along. His message to that Congress was waited for with anxiety by the country, as his first opportunity for presenting in detail a plan of administration. The document proved to be a lengthy but very worthy State paper, embracing in the main

three distinct points—the silver question, the tariff and civil service, with brief discussion of the Indian problem, commercial treaties, Mormonism, the navy, and other current subjects. He disapproved of further coinage of the Bland dollar, advised conservative action respecting the tariff, gave much dignified and courageous advice relative to civil service. The nation was pleased with such outline of administration as the message promised, and it was especially lauded by the independent Republicans who had supported him for office.

He found in the House a Democratic majority which was in thorough accord with him, and many special champions in the Senate, among whom were the eloquent Arthur P. Gorman, of Maryland, and Senator Kenna, of West Virginia. However smoothly a new administration may run while the Congress is not in session, it cannot expect to escape criticism and antagonism when brought into close contact with the legislative body of the land, especially if all, or a part of it, be of the opposition. The Senate was Republican, and its first duty was to pass on the numerous nominations of the President. A hitch occurred almost at the start, when the Senate asked for sight of the recommendations on which the President had based some of his important appointments, and also of papers on which he had based his removals. He regarded them as personal papers, and the Attorney General sustained his refusal to show them. The Senate took an opposite view, but the affair was so adjusted as not to interfere greatly with the serenity of either the President or Senators.

The first session of the Forty-ninth Congress lasted till Aug. 5, 1886. It accomplished but little to affect the country or the status of parties. Looked in upon critically, the administration of President Cleveland had thus far been plain, straightforward and unmomentous. Peace and prosperity reigned, and the political revolution of 1884 had brought none of the disasters so freely prophesied by croakers. It was to some extent true that Mr. Cleveland's own party had not profited as much as it desired from his administration. But he could well afford to face this situation, for the utmost that could be laid to his discredit was

the exercise of prudence in changing from one set of office-holders to another, and the bringing to bear severe discrimination in making up his mind as to the qualifications of those who should represent him. If the resolve to have a safe administration did not suit a few hot-heads who would have overturned everything and brought disgrace on the party, he was not greatly disturbed about it, but went on his cautious way, sure of the fact that the end would vindicate his procedure.

The second session of the Forty-ninth Congress, which met Dec. 6, 1886, gave the President another opportunity to present his views to the country in an annual message. The interim had been signalized by nothing of political moment except a more pronounced desire on the part of Democrats who favored tariff revision to accomplish something in that direction during the pending session. The Congressional elections had been held and, from whatever cause, there had been a diminution of the Democratic majority in the House. President Cleveland delivered a message which was much more vigorous and pointed than his former one. In it he urged upon his party the necessity for taking a decided step in favor of tariff revision, and a reduction of the surplus. He was as emphatic as before in his objections to compulsory coinage, and the longer continuance of internal taxes. He had been harshly criticised by his opponents for numerous vetoes of bills conferring pensions in exceptional cases. These vetoes he ably defended, because the class of legislation against which they were aimed was one which was dangerous in principle and calculated to open the doors to extravagance and corruption. The message evinced a determination on the President's part to secure, in so far as he could, a greater amount of legislation than the first session of the Forty-ninth Congress had given to the country. He was now well grounded in popular regard, had a full understanding of national and party wants, and felt that he could afford to make his advice emphatic. The result was that at this short session the Congress did an immense amount of work, and settled many pressing questions. The Anti-Polygamy act was passed, one redeeming Trade Dollars; regulating the Electoral Count, and repealing

the Tenure of Office law. But for the fact that the Democrats in the House were divided on the questions of tariff revision, internal taxation, and reduction of the surplus in the treasury, all the important measures urged in his message would have been enacted into laws, and their beneficial results given to the country.

Thus ended the first two years of President Cleveland's administration. He had been singularly successful in reconciling the country to the political change which came about with the advent of his party to power. Antagonisms had been avoided by a wise use of his functions. He had made no foolish haste, had done everything conscientiously and for the best, had met on every hand the expectations of those who contributed to his election. Better than all he had not lost the best wishes of his political opponents to see him successful in his administration of national affairs. At times it was felt on all sides that he was bigger, braver, and more advanced than his party, and that this would, in the end, prove a greater source of danger to his success than attacks from without. But he had the sagacity to ward off all harm in this direction by choosing his ground well, taking bold and firm stands without appearing to be arbitrary or dictatorial, and then patiently waiting for the sober, second thought of his followers. He thus grew upon them, as it were, and without any spirit of assumption or attempt at cross-purposes, came to be recognized as one abundantly worthy of entire confidence and admirably equipped for safe and victorious leadership.

As party lines began to shape up for the contest of 1888, President Cleveland's administration naturally passed under closer scrutiny by his political opponents. He could hardly expect to escape that small, invidious criticism which every trifling official error and every slight departure from the usual course of things are too apt to provoke in this country, and which is none to the credit of our newsmongers and partisan writers. Thus his veto of what was known as the Dependent Pension Bill, though based on grounds which every impartial man will, almost at a glance, regard as tenable, was heralded as evidence of his

opposition to the soldier element. This was both unfair and unjust, and it did not take long for the better second thought of the country to come to the President's vindication. There was another outburst of the same sentiment when the order to "return the rebel flags" was issued. But when it appeared that the order was really that of a subordinate, and that it was countermanded by the President as soon as its true nature became known, full credit was given to him for rectitude of intention.

But with all these annoyances, there was a broader and fairer field of criticism to encounter. This he did not fear; this, indeed, he would invite, in so far as a perfectly straight and fearless course proved an invitation. Aggressiveness was never a part of President Cleveland's organization, yet he was not a man to stand still. He saw the political situation of 1884 as plainly as any man could. The things which contributed to his own and Democratic success in that year—the mistrust of the party in power, the personal antagonism to its candidate, the general desire for political change—could not contribute to the same end again. Party success a second time must depend on a record made, on something done, on confidence inspired, on a grand affirmative position to be stoutly maintained. How could this standpoint be reached? Clearly not by the reposeful, negative methods which were so well adapted to the first two years of his administration. There must be a change, more action, for, as the legend on the ruins of Dendera hath it, "action is life." It was to this end that he almost scolded the second session of the Forty-ninth Congress for its inertness during the first and long session—the session of opportunity. He would not scold, or urge, or plead again, but, as was justly his place, he would present a clear issue, would father a central thought, would ask his party and the nation to take something definite in hand for its own good.

In writing the life of President Cleveland it is not necessary to go into an analysis of parties. It is sufficiently understood that the doctrine of Protection is fostered by the Republican party through and by means of the tariff laws, and that such doctrine has become cardinal with the party. It is just as well under-

stood that the Democratic party has never accepted this doctrine in its entirety, but has acquiesced in it as a means of raising revenue when necessary, and has always claimed that, the necessity past, the tariff laws should be revised and tariff rates reduced, the same as with any other tax laws. In the opinion of many Democratic leaders of thought, which opinion Mr. Cleveland shared, the excess of income over expenditures, and the accumulation of an unnecessary surplus of public money in the national treasury, afforded an excellent argument and made the time propitious for declaring a policy which looked toward both tariff and internal tax reduction, and which should at the same time answer for a more definite declaration of party principles than had been the custom in National Conventions and platforms. While the desire to do this had long existed on the part of many prominent Democrats, no one seemed bold enough, or felt himself sufficiently strong as a leader, to take such an initiative as would impress the people. There was a small but resolute faction within the party which antagonized any such step and remained as firmly attached to the Protection school of thought as Republicans themselves. They were chiefly responsible for the failure of tariff legislation in the Forty-ninth Congress, and were still more hostile in the Fiftieth Congress. Mr. Cleveland had, of course, fully discounted their strength before he concluded on his step forward. He felt also, no doubt, that he, of all men, was the one to place himself in the van of what bade fair to be the most important political movement since the civil war, for he was not only the most conspicuous man in the country, but the one best calculated, by reason of his sturdy character and well-established official record, to inspire confidence.

This was the logic of that situation which President Cleveland presented to the country when, on December 5, 1887, he delivered to Congress that brief message of only 4,500 words, which touched upon only that branch of finance involved in taxation, customs duties and the treasury surplus, which awakened his party as if from a long dream and which electrified the nation. It was an indication of a departure from the hesitating and shuffling methods which had so long prevailed and was

equivalent to a new declaration of principles for modern Democracy, or rather to a broad and emphatic announcement of those principles which had made statesmen of the Democratic fathers and given them repeated victories. The message was hailed by his party as a step in the right direction, and the President was made the recipient of congratulations which showed he had struck an immensely popular chord. So earnest was he in his presentation of the financial situation, and so candid and fearless in his statements respecting high and unnecessary taxation, with its dangerous concomitant of an overflowing treasury, that not even his enemies failed to applaud his utterances as the very essence of frankness and his step as Napoleonic in conception and importance. The Democratic majority in the House promptly responded to the President's advice and presented a bill which looked toward the reforms indicated in the message, and they made strenuous efforts to pass it over the Republican strength aided by a factious Democratic minority.

This heroic step on the part of President Cleveland contributed greatly to his reputation as a broad-minded thinker, and a statesman capable of seeing in advance of his time and preparing for victories on a basis which should admit of no misconstruction. But there was one thing about it which he may not have fully considered, or if so, then it should be carefully weighed by every candid mind, in order that misapprehension may not arise respecting the future which it opened to Mr. Cleveland, and also in order that the criticism which his nomination for a second term called forth from his political enemies may be met at once. The new policy of the administration placed Mr. Cleveland so clearly in the van of his party, that it would have been cowardly, if not suicidal, for him to have shrunk from the responsibility imposed, no matter what form that responsibility assumed. Thus, without intent or volition on his part, but by sheer force of political circumstances, he found his leadership of that pronounced and momentous kind, which impelled him directly and inevitably toward a renomination by his party. There can be no doubt in the world of his sincerity, when, in his letter of acceptance in 1884, he made known his

conviction that a President should not be an aspirant for a second term. His reasoning was that such ambition might lead to misuse of the power and patronage at his disposal. The reasoning was just as potential in 1886, or 1888, and there is no need for supposing that his convictions underwent change at any time. The fact that an emergency might arise, or that a changed set of conditions might come, which could not be foreseen, but which might warrant a second term for a President, was not one which he combated in his letter, nor did his reasoning apply to it. He was as much at liberty to stand for a second term, after his letter as before it, unless it became apparent that he was an ambitious seeker after the place, and was using the power and patronage in his hands to secure it. Nothing like this appeared. In shaping an administrative policy which would enure to the good and glory of his party and the country, he acted like a brave, broad-gauge statesman, and as President, or if you please, party leader, he was willing to face every storm and shoulder every responsibility. When events, political and otherwise, shaped up so as to show forth the campaign of 1888, and his position became such as to make battle doubtful without the magic of his name, the wisdom of his counsel, and the force of his presence, there arose spontaneously a situation which rendered his candidacy imperative. Instead of using effort in a personal direction, and resorting to means unworthy of a high official to bring about a desirable result, the course of events, the trend of sentiment, the uprising of feeling, were such as to carry him along, without the asking, toward a second candidature. Always before in our political history such spontaneous results have been regarded as most fortunate for public men, and as evidence of a popular favor and confidence which speak worlds for their character and ability as officials and statesmen. And so it really was in Mr. Cleveland's case.

During the first session of the Fiftieth Congress, Mr. Cleveland reorganized his Cabinet by promoting his Secretary of Interior, L. Q. C. Lamar, to the place in the Supreme Court, made vacant by the death of Chief-Justice Waite, by transferring his Postmaster-General, Wm. F. Vilas, to the Interior Department,

by promoting Charles S. Fairchild to the Secretaryship of the Treasury, and by appointing Don M. Dickinson, of Michigan, Postmaster-General. These appointments were all acceptable to the Senate, and they were confirmed.

President Cleveland had on hand from the beginning of his administration the delicate question of the American Fisheries. The treaty of 1818, between this country and England, has never been satisfactory, and the English made several seizures of American fishing vessels in Canadian waters, contrary to our construction of the treaty. The administration took the matter in hand, and under the auspices of a commission composed of representatives from all the countries concerned, a new treaty was framed and presented to the Senate for confirmation. This action was deemed the wisest on the part of the administration, as it was least likely to provoke hard feeling, and most likely to get at the root of the troubles. It gave a happy relief to his premier, and placed the future responsibility on the Senate.

President Cleveland made reform in the Public Land System a conspicuous feature of his administration, and it is safe to say that in this respect he has been the means of correcting one of the most vicious systems in the whole domain of government, and at the same time of saving millions to the Treasury. In the execution of laws he is energetic and persistent, and, it may be, imbued with a good deal of that philosophy which prompted President Grant to say that "the best way to secure the repeal of an obnoxious law was to enforce it to the letter."

The brief review of President Cleveland's administration presented to the St. Louis Convention by General Collins is apropos the story of his life.

"The day on which Grover Cleveland, the plain, straightforward, typical American citizen chosen at the election, took the oath of office in the presence of the multitude, a day so lovely and so perfect that all nature seemed exuberantly to sanction and to celebrate the victory, that day marked the close of the old era and the beginning of a new one. It closed the era of usurpation of power by the Federal authority, of illegal force, of general contempt for constitutional limitations and plain law, of

glaring scandals, profligate waste, and unspeakable corruption, of narrow sectionalism and class strife, of the reign of a party whose good work had long been done. It began the era of perfect peace and perfect union of the States, fused in all their sovereignty into a Federal Republic, with limited but ample powers; of a public service conducted with absolute integrity and strict economy; of reforms pushed to their extreme limit; of comprehensive, sound and safe financial policy; giving security and confidence to all enterprise and endeavor—a Democratic administration, faithful to its mighty trust, loyal to its pledges; true to the constitution, safeguarding the interests and liberties of the people. And now we stand on the edge of another era, perhaps a greater contest; with a relation to the electors that we have not held for a generation, that of responsibility for the great trust of government. We are no longer authors, but accountants; no longer critics, but the criticised. The responsibility is ours, and if we have not taken all the power necessary to make that responsibility good the fault is ours, not that of the people.

"The administration of President Cleveland has triumphantly justified his election. It compels the respect, confidence and approval of the country. The prophets of evil and disaster are dumb. What the people see is the government of the Union restored to its ancient footing of justice, peace, honesty and impartial enforcement of the law. They see the demands of labor and agriculture met, so far as government can meet them, by the legislative enactments for their encouragement and protection. They see the veterans of the civil war granted pensions long due them to the amount of more than twice in number and nearly three times in value of those granted under any previous administration. They see more than 32,000,000 acres of land recklessly and illegally held by the grantees of the corrupt Republican regime restored to the public domain for the benefit of honest settlers. They see the negro, whose fears of Democratic rule were played upon by demagogues four years ago, not only more fully protected than by his pretended friends, but honored as his race was never honored before. They see a financial

policy under which reckless speculation has practically ceased and capital freed from distrust. They see for the first time an honest observance of the law governing the civil establishment, and the employés of the people rid, at least, of the political highwayman with a demand for tribute in one hand and a letter of dismissal in the other. They see useless offices abolished and expenses of administration reduced, while improved methods have lifted the public service to high efficiency. They see tranquility, order, security and equal justice restored in the land, a watchful, safe, steady and patriotic administration—the solemn promises made by Democracy faithfully kept. It is 'an honest government by honest men.'

"Four years ago you trusted tentatively the Democratic party and supported with zeal and vigor its candidate for President. You thought him strong in all the sturdy qualities requisite for the great task of reform. No President in time of peace had so difficult and laborious a duty to perform. His party had been out of power for twenty-four years. Every member of it had been almost venomously excluded from the smallest post where administration could be studied. Every place was filled by men whose interest it was to thwart inquiry and belittle the new administration, but the master hand came to the helm, and the true course has been kept from the beginning.

"We need not wait for time to do justice to the character and services of President Cleveland. Honest, clear-sighted, patient, grounded in respect for law and justice; with a thorough grasp of principles and situations; with marvellous and conscientious industry; the very incarnation of firmness—he has nobly fulfilled the promise of his party, nobly met the expectations of his country and written his name high on the scroll where future Americans will read the names of men who have been supremely useful to the Republic."

APPEARANCE AND HABITS.—President Cleveland possesses a strong physique, but has so industrially devoted his time and energies to the duties of his office as to render care for his health necessary. Gentle in strength, unobtrusive in his modesty and unswerved by partisan clamor, he endeavors to do

what he, from his personal and political standpoint, regards as right. He is above medium height, quite stout and rather slow in movement. His type is Teutonic, blonde, with ruddy color. His head is large, with a broad forehead, deeply set blue eyes, a large, straight nose, with vigorous nostrils, and a firm mouth, partly shaded by a drooping light moustache. He generally wears a frock coat, buttoned up so high that only an inch or so of his shirt bosom is visible, with a slight black cravat encircling a standing collar. In conversation with strangers he generally stands with his hands clasped behind him and when he thinks he has heard enough he brings his hands forward. He rises early, shaves and dresses himself and reads the newspapers until breakfast. He then goes to his library on the second floor of the White House and seats himself at the President's desk, which is made of oak from the ship "Resolute," an English vessel sent to the Arctic regions in search of Sir John Franklin, abandoned in the ice and afterwards rescued by American whalers. The desk was a present from Queen Victoria. On it are arranged the President's correspondence in such a shape as that he loses no time in going through it. At ten A. M. visitors begin to arrive, Senators and Representatives claiming precedence. At one o'clock the President goes down-stairs to lunch and on his way walks through the East room to see and be seen by the promiscuous visitors to the White House. Those who have "axes to grind" are referred to the various heads of departments, while the bridal couples and curiosity seekers are put off with a hand-shake and a complimentary word. Two days in the week, when the Cabinet meets, these receptions are omitted. After luncheon the President returns to his desk and works steadily till five o'clock. None of his predecessors have ever weighed the qualifications and claims of candidates for Federal appointments with such painstaking care as Mr. Cleveland. He has carefully read the recommendations in every case and, after such investigation as it has been possible for him to make into the character and antecedents of the rival applicants, he has made his appointments.

At five o'clock the President takes a drive. At seven he

dines, and by eight he is back at work, often remaining at his desk till midnight. When asked if he ever carried his work to bed with him, as many nervous men do, he replied: "No! I generally fall asleep without any difficulty, and never wake until morning." The domestic arrangements of the White House were presided over by the President's sister, Miss Rose Elizabeth Cleveland, until the date of his marriage.

HIS MARRIAGE.—President Cleveland was married at the White House at seven P. M. on June 2, 1886, to Miss Frances Folsom, daughter of his former law partner. Though this was the eighth marriage within the walls of the White House, it was the first in which a President of the United States participated as a bridegroom. It was a plain ceremony, after the Presbyterian form, with the Marine Band to play the wedding march and the President's salute from the guns of the Navy Yard to notify the world that the vows had been finally sealed. This marriage introduced into the executive mansion and to public life one of the most charming ladies of the land. She has borne all her blushing honors meekly and contributed greatly to the sociability, vivacity and elegance of the White House establishment.

RENOMINATED.—As the time approached for the meeting of the St. Louis Convention, and the eyes of the Democratic party began to turn toward the spot whence should emanate a standard-bearer for the campaign of 1888, there seemed to be but one answer to the question, "Who shall the man be?"

And when Convention day dawned, and the great Democratic party sat in National Council, at St. Louis, on June 5, 1888, when an outlook of the situation was had after a comparison of political views, when grave men had deliberated and arrived at the mature judgment as to what was best for party success and the triumph of immutable principles, there was more than ever one voice in favor of the renomination of President Cleveland. All private likes and dislikes were merged in the common thought that he was the man best calculated by experience, by towering ability as leader, by impregnable record, to bear the party standard through the campaign battles of 1888. No other name was mentioned in Convention, in connection

with the Presidency, and when his was mentioned it always awakened an enthusiasm which found vent in vociferous and prolonged cheers.

For President Cleveland, the St. Louis Convention was both endorsement and ovation. It ratified nearly four years of administrative work, and pledged a continuance of confidence and support. That public career which, in 1884, had been limited by State lines, was, at St. Louis, bounded by the horizon of every civilized country. In 1884 he was pledged to his country by his party for what he gave promise as President to be. In 1888 no such formal pledge was needed, for as one of the orators in the Convention put it, "He had not only won the applause of his countrymen, but the plaudit of the civilized world of 'Well done, thou good and faithful servant.'"

When State after State had risen in that grandly representative Convention to shower on the President its eulogies and pledge him anew its support, the climax was reached at the call of Kentucky, whose spokesman, McKenzie, closed his eloquent tribute to Mr. Cleveland's greatness by saying:

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I move to suspend the rules and make the nomination of Grover Cleveland for President of the United States absolutely unanimous."

This was the last step of that superb movement which crowned President Cleveland with the honors of a second nomination. There was no ballot, no contest, no dissent. The Convention rose as a unit, and as a personation of a sentiment which was all pervading, and with a voice which made the immense spaces of Musical Hall ring, acclaimed him the candidate of the Democratic party for 1888. It was a tribute such as is seldom paid to mortal man. That spontaneous accord, that emphatic pronouncement, contained something higher than the honors of office, something fuller of meaning than a crown. It measured not only the estimation in which the man was held, but it showed the heartfelt gratitude of a party whose destiny he had held sacredly in his keeping through its first period of triumph in twenty-four years. It was a ratification of the past, and a tender for the future, not of a man in the shape of a promise, as in 1884, but as a happy and splendid realization.

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION, ST. LOUIS, 1888.

THE National Democratic Committee met, at the call of the chairman, in Washington, D. C., on February 22, 1888, with a full attendance. On that date it was decided to hold the National Convention on July 3, but in the proceedings of February 23 the date was changed to June 5, 1888, and St. Louis was selected as the place—Chicago, New York, Cincinnati and San Francisco being other claimants for the honor.

On Tuesday, June 5, in pursuance of the above decision and in obedience to the call to the Chairman of the National Committee, the Convention met at St. Louis Music Hall, and was called to order at 12.25 P. M. by Ex-Senator Barnum, of Connecticut, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. It was a large, enthusiastic and thoroughly representative assemblage, embracing not only the regular delegates, but an audience of 12,000 people, which subdued its cheers with difficulty as Bishop J. C. Granberry, of St. Louis, extended his hands and began the opening prayer.

Hon. Stephen M. White, of California, was elected temporary chairman, an honor he accepted in an eloquent address. After a roll-call of delegates and appointment of the various working committees, the Convention adjourned till 10 A. M. of the 6th.

On that date a permanent organization was effected by selecting Hon. Patrick A. Collins, of Massachusetts, chairman, who also accepted the honor by a thrilling speech. Pending the reports of committees, especially that of the Committee on Resolutions and Platform, which was anxiously looked for, a motion was made that the speeches placing candidates in nomination for

The Presidency be heard, but that no further action be taken. This gave Hon. Daniel Dougherty, the "silver-tongued orator," formerly of Philadelphia, but now of New York, opportunity to make the speech placing President Grover Cleveland in nomination. He arose amid such an ovation as is seldom witnessed in a deliberative body, and spoke as follows to an audience of over 12,000 people:

I greet you, my countrymen, with fraternal regard; in your presence I bow to the majesty of the people. The sight itself is inspiring, the thought sublime. You come from every State and Territory, from every nook and corner of our ocean-bound and continent-covering country. You are about to discharge a more than imperial duty, with simplest ceremonials. You, as representatives of the people, are to choose a magistrate with power mightier than a monarch, yet checked and controlled by the supreme law of a written constitution. Thus impressed, I ascend the rostrum to name the next President of the United States. New York presents him to the Convention and pledges her electoral votes. Delegations from the thirty-eight States and all the Territories are assembled without a caucus or consultation, ready simultaneously to take up the cry and make the vote unanimous. We are here not indeed to choose a candidate, but to name the one the people have already chosen. He is the man for the people; his career illustrates the glory of our institutions. Eight years ago unknown save in his own locality; he for the last four years has stood in the gaze of the world discharging the most exalted duties that can be confided to mortal. To-day determines that not of his own choice, but by the mandate of his countrymen and with the sanction of heaven he shall fill the Presidency for four years more. He has met and mastered every question as if from youth trained to statesmanship. The promises of his letter of acceptance and inaugural address have been fulfilled.

His fidelity in the past inspires faith in the future. He is not a hope. He is a realization. Scorning subterfuge, disdaining re-election by concealing convictions, mindful of his oath of office to defend the constitution, he courageously declares to Congress, dropping minor matters, that the supreme issue is reform, revision, reduction of national taxation; that the treasury of the United States, glutted with unneeded gold, oppresses industry, embarrasses business, endangers financial tranquillity and breeds extravagance, centralization and corruption; that high taxation, vital for the expenditures of an unparalleled war, is robbery in years of prosperous peace; that the millions that pour into the treasury come from the hard-earned savings of the American people; that in violation of equality of rights the present tariff has created a privileged class who, shaping legislation for their personal gain, levy by law contributions for the necessaries of life from every man, woman and child in the land; that to lower the tariff is not free trade. It is to reduce the unjust profits of monopolists and boss manufacturers, and allow consumers to retain the rest. The man who asserts that to lower the tariff means free trade insults intelligence. We brand him as a falsifier. It is furthest from thought to imperil

capital or disturb enterprises. The aim is to uphold wages and protect the rights of all.

This administration has rescued the public domain from would-be barons and cormorant corporations faithless to obligations, and reserved it for free homes for this and coming generations. There is no pilfering, and there are no jobs under this administration. Public office is a public trust. Integrity stands guard at every post of our vast empire.

While the President has been the medium through which has flowed the undying gratitude of the Republic for her soldiers, he has not hesitated to withhold approval from special legislation if strictest inquiry revealed a want of truth and justice. Above all, sectional strife as never before is at an end and 60,000,000 of freemen in the ties of brotherhood are prosperous and happy.

These are the achievements of this administration. Under the same illustrious leader we are ready to meet our political opponents in high and honorable debate and stake our triumph on the intelligence, virtue and patriotism of the people. Adhering to the constitution, its every line and letter, ever remembering that "powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution nor prohibited by it to the States are reserved to the States respectively or to the people." By the authority of the Democracy of New York, backed by the Democracy of the entire Union, I give you a name entwined with victory. I nominate Grover Cleveland, of New York.

CARRIED BY STORM.—Mr. Dougherty's speech was delivered with fine effect, in his best style, and aroused unbounded enthusiasm. When he mentioned the name of Grover Cleveland, or referred to his public acts or utterances, the Convention fairly shouted itself hoarse. The delegates mounted the chairs, waved their hats, their canes and handkerchiefs. The 12,000 spectators joined in the applause, and the band in the east gallery helped along with horns and drums, but their blare and noise could scarcely be heard above the general din. As Mr. Dougherty finished his impassioned speech some one in the west gallery tore aside a curtain which had hid a portrait of Cleveland, upon the face of the great picture of the Capitol building, revealing to the gaze of the Convention the well-known features of the President. This incident aroused the enthusiasm of the Convention to a fever heat. The hall was at once filled with cheer on cheer, and the great body of people in the auditorium, balcony and galleries arose and stood shouting until the din became almost deafening. Hats were thrown in the air, red bandannas waved from a thousand hands and white, black and gray hats were frantically thrust upon the points of canes and waved until the

owners became exhausted. Some one on the stage crowned the bust of the President, on the left of the chairman, with a laurel wreath, which was the signal for even a wilder burst of shouts and cheers than before. Although the full band of sixty pieces was in full blast all this time, not a sound from its trumpets could be heard. The climax of this great scene was reached when the banners of all the States were borne by the delegates to the New York standard and draped about it. At this the enthusiasm was unbounded. Spectators and delegates tore the red, white and blue bunting from the pillars and from the face of the balconies and waved these improvised banners all over the hall for ten minutes. This remarkable outburst did not cease until everybody was absolutely exhausted. It was exactly twenty-four minutes before the chair was able to regain control of the Convention.

When the applause had subsided and the Convention was again under control, the States were called upon to second the nomination or make new ones. One by one they responded through their best orators, and all seconded in eloquent terms the nomination already made. It being thus apparent that President Cleveland was the unanimous choice of the Convention, Mr. McKenzie, Ky., moved to suspend the rules and to nominate Grover Cleveland for President by acclamation. The chair put the question, and there was returned from the Convention a thundering chorus of yeas. The chair therefore announced that Grover Cleveland, having received an unanimous vote, was the candidate of the Democratic party for the office of President of the United States. When the nomination of Cleveland was announced another scene of wild enthusiasm occurred in the Convention, but the delegates and spectators were too nearly exhausted to sustain so prolonged a scene as that which followed Mr. Dougherty's speech.

There being as yet no report from the Committee on Resolutions, and the delegates being tired out by incessant cheering, the Convention adjourned at 1.58 P. M. till 10 o'clock of the 7th.

A VICE-PRESIDENT.—There were three prominent candidates for the Vice-Presidential nomination—Ex-Senator Allen

G. Thurman, Ohio; Pension Commissioner John C. Black, Illinois, and Isaac P. Gray, Indiana. At the opening of the Convention on the 7th, it was evident that the current was running irresistibly in favor of the "Old Roman," as Thurman is called. It therefore took only the brilliant nominating speech of Mr. Tarpey, of California, to throw the Convention into the wildest state of excitement over Mr. Thurman's name. His nomination was seconded by numerous delegates, and it would have required but little more effort to nominate him without the formality of a ballot. But Mr. Gray had been put in nomination by an able speech from Senator Voorhees, and there were many friends of Mr. Black who refused to hearken to his letter of declination. A ballot was therefore taken. Gray held the 30 votes of Indiana solid, as did Black the 6 votes of Colorado. A few other States divided their votes, but the result showed 685 votes for Thurman, 104 for Gray and 31 for Black. The nomination was made unanimous amid an applause which had not been surpassed for prolonged vigor in the entire history of the Convention. Everybody produced a red bandanna and every guidon in the hall was decorated with one.

THE PLATFORM.—The work of framing a national platform of principles had been entrusted to the ablest men in the party, such as Mr. Watterson, Kentucky; Congressman Scott, Pennsylvania, and Senator Gorman, Maryland, and it was reported and endorsed by the Convention on the 7th, the last day it was in session. The full text is as follows:

PLEDGES.—The Democratic party of the United States in National Convention assembled renews the pledge of its fidelity to Democratic faith and reaffirms the platform adopted by its representatives in the Convention of 1884, and endorses the views expressed by President Cleveland in his last annual message to Congress as the correct interpretation of that platform upon the question of tariff reduction; and also endorses the efforts of our Democratic representatives in Congress to secure a reduction of excessive taxation.

FAITH.—Chief among its principles of party faith are the maintenance of an indissoluble Union of free und indestructible States, now about to enter upon its second century of unexampled progress and renown; devotion to a plan of government regulated by a written constitution, strictly specifying every granted power and expressly reserving to the States or people the entire ungranted residue of power; the encouragement of a jealous popular vigilance, directed to all who have

been chosen for brief terms to enact and execute the laws, and are charged with the duty of preserving peace, ensuring equality and establishing justice.

PUBLIC PROSPERITY.—The Democratic party welcome an exacting scrutiny of the administration of the executive power, which four years ago was committed to its trust in the election of Grover Cleveland President of the United States, and it challenges the most searching inquiry concerning its fidelity and devotion to the pledges which then invited the suffrages of the people. During a most critical period of our financial affairs, resulting from over-taxation, the anomalous condition of our currency and a public debt unmatured, it has, by the adoption of its policy, not only avoided a disaster, but greatly promoted the prosperity of the people.

PUBLIC LANDS.—It has reversed the improvident and unwise policy of the Republican party touching the public domain, and has reclaimed from corporations and syndicates, alien and domestic, and restored to the people nearly one hundred million acres of valuable land, to be sacredly held as homesteads for our citizens.

PENSIONS.—While carefully guarding the interest of the tax-payers and conforming strictly to the principles of justice and equity, it has paid out more for pensions and bounties to the soldiers and sailors of the republic than was ever paid before during an equal period.

REFORMS.—By intelligent management and a judicious and economical expenditure of the public money it has set on foot the reconstruction of the American navy upon a system which forbids the recurrence of scandal and insures successful results. It has adopted and consistently pursued a firm and prudent foreign policy, preserving peace with all nations while scrupulously maintaining all the rights and interests of our own government and people at home and abroad. The exclusion from our shores of Chinese laborers has been effectually secured under the provisions of a treaty, the operation of which has been postponed by the action of a Republican majority in the Senate. Honest reform in the civil service has been inaugurated and maintained by President Cleveland, and he has brought the public service to the highest standard of efficiency not only by rule and precept, but by the example of his own untiring and unselfish administration of public affairs.

EQUALITY.—In every department and branch of the government under Democratic control the rights and the welfare of all the people have been guarded and defended; every public interest has been protected, and the equality of all our citizens before the law, without regard to race or color, has been steadfastly maintained. Upon its record thus exhibited and upon the pledge of a continuance to the people of the benefits of good government, the national Democracy invokes a renewal of popular trust by the re-election of a chief magistrate who has been faithful, able and prudent. They invoke, in addition to that trust, the transfer also to the Democracy of the entire legislative power.

CAPITAL.—The Republican party, controlling the Senate and resisting in both Houses of Congress a reformation of unjust and unequal tax laws which have outlasted the necessities of war and are now undermining the abundance of a long peace, deny to the people equality before the law and the fairness and justice which are their right. Thus the cry of American labor for a better share in the rewards of industry is stifled with false pretences; enterprise is fettered and bound down

to home markets; capital is discouraged with doubt, and unequal, unjust laws can neither be properly amended nor repealed.

TAXATION.—The Democratic party will continue, with all the power confided to it, the struggle to reform these laws, in accordance with the pledges of its last platform, endorsed at the ballot-box by the suffrages of the people. Of all the industrious freemen of our land, the immense majority, including every tiller of the soil, gain no advantage from excessive tax laws, but the price of nearly everything they buy is increased by the favoritism of an unequal system of tax legislation. All unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation. It is repugnant to the creed of Democracy that by such taxation the cost of the necessaries of life should be unjustifiably increased to all our people.

TRUSTS.—Judged by Democratic principles, the interests of the people are betrayed when, by unnecessary taxation, trusts and combinations are permitted to exist, which, while unduly enriching the few that combine, rob the body of our citizens by depriving them of the benefits of natural competition. Every Democratic rule of governmental action is violated when, through unnecessary taxation, a vast sum of money, far beyond the needs of an economical administration, is drawn from the people and the channels of trade and accumulated as a demoralizing surplus in the national treasury.

SURPLUS AND TARIFF.—The money now lying in the Federal treasury, resulting from superfluous taxation, amounts to more than one hundred and twenty-five millions, and the surplus collected is reaching the sum of more than sixty millions annually. Debauched by this immense temptation, the remedy of the Republican party is to meet and exhaust, by extravagant appropriations and expenses, whether constitutional or not, the accumulation of extravagant taxation. The Democratic policy is to enforce frugality in public expenditure and abolish unnecessary taxation. Our established domestic industries and enterprises should not and need not be endangered by the reduction and correction of the burdens of taxation. On the contrary, a fair and careful revision of our tax laws, with due allowance for the difference between the wages of American and foreign labor, must promote and encourage every branch of such industries and enterprises, by giving them assurance of an extended market and steady and continuous operations. In the interests of American labor, which should in no event be neglected, the revision of our tax laws, contemplated by the Democratic party, should promote the advantage of such labor, by cheapening the cost of necessaries of life in the home of every workingman and at the same time securing to him steady and remunerative employment. Upon this question of tariff reform, so closely concerning every phase of our national life, and upon every question involved in the problem of good government, the Democratic party submits its principles and professions to the intelligent suffrages of the American people.

ALLEN G. THURMAN.

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICE

OF

ALLEN G. THURMAN.

HON. ALLEN G. THURMAN, who rose to distinction in Ohio, and whose record is one of the brightest and purest in the annals of the Buckeye State, was born at Lynchburg, Va., November 13, 1813. He sprang from one of the good, old-fashioned English families who pioneered civilization up the valley of the James River, and contributed to the fame of the commonwealth founded by Captain John Smith, at Jamestown.

His ancestry came early to the shores of Virginia, and became conspicuous for their zeal in the cause of American freedom. Both his paternal and maternal grandfather fought in the war of the Revolution, the latter having served under General Daniel Logan. The family belonged to the planting community, and ranked as high-classed, prosperous farmers for several generations.

The good fortune which had attended the family during the years of colonization deserted it in the early part of the nineteenth century, and it was deemed advisable to seek the larger opportunities presented in the fair fields of the Northwest. Moral and political conviction may have had something to do with the move, for it is narrated that Mr. Thurman's father had lost considerable caste in his community by reason of his hostility to the institution of slavery, and by the fact that the family had dispossessed itself of all its slave property by voluntary deeds of manumission. However this may be, it was decided to make a change of residence. The family estates were disposed of at somewhat of a sacrifice, and in the year 1818 the

western journey was begun, the boy, Allen, being then in his sixth year.

A huge six-horse wagon bore the family and their effects over the Virginia Mountains, through the picturesque valleys, and out on to the western prairies, to a destined home at, or near, Chillicothe. The son, Allen G., was six years old when this migration took place. The new homestead embraced a farm on which the boy grew up amid industrious and frugal surroundings. A good deal of hard work fell to his lot, and the habits of industry then laid did not desert our subject throughout his long, useful, and highly honored career.

His early education was that of the common schools, rounded out, as he grew older, by a course at the Chillicothe Academy, where he excelled in mathematics, a love for which pervaded his entire life, and no doubt contributed largely to that compact and vigorous logic which characterized his mature speeches. But the real education which shaped him for a masterly career was that which he acquired by intense devotion to books during intervals of leisure. This was the kind of education which made so many of our Western men free and bold thinkers, plain, rugged spokesmen, and safe, practical statesmen. It gave to their lives a pluck and candor which was without garnishment, and to their convictions a sincerity and honesty which were unmistakable.

The drift of his early ambition was toward the law, and we accordingly find him, at the age of eighteen, a matriculant in the law office of his uncle, William Allen, afterwards Governor of Ohio. After two years of study there, he became the private secretary of Governor Lucas, and at the same time changed his studies to the law office of Judge Swayne. In 1835 he was admitted to the bar, fully equipped for his profession, on which he embarked as a partner in connection with his uncle, Mr. Allen. He was now twenty-two years old, and this advantageous partnership, united with native zeal and ability in his profession, soon brought him into an extensive and lucrative practice. He was recognized as one who possessed rare legal acumen, clear and powerful methods of statement, and intense

faithfulness to his cause. Amid prospects which were bright for wealth and fame we are not surprised to find that he evinced a distaste for public life, which was not easily overcome, and this even though he entertained pronounced Democratic views on most of the questions of the day. He was not one of those professional youngsters who cease to study as soon as they are admitted to the bar, but he was, if anything, more of a student than ever, adding a wide range of *belles-lettres* to his attainments, and making himself proficient in French.

His preceptor and partner had so fully drifted into politics as to leave the management of the large legal business almost exclusively in the hands of the junior member of the firm. Hard work and close confinement began to tell on his health, and in 1839 he took a recreative trip to Washington, where he became acquainted with many leading statesmen and politicians, through the courtesy of his uncle, then a Senator in Congress. Among those who most impressed him with their dignity of demeanor and earnestness of conviction was Senator John C. Calhoun, who stood at the head of Southern statesmen. He took a similar trip in 1842, and still further enlarged his acquaintance with public men and the methods of running the Government.

While these visits afforded an excellent schooling for a young and ambitious practitioner they did not fill him with such desire for public life as to subordinate his profession to it. In 1844 he was urged to accept the nomination, on the Democratic ticket, for Congress, in the Chillicothe District. He opposed the use of his name for a considerable time, feeling that he could not afford to sacrifice his legal business, which was by this time bringing large pecuniary returns, and fast giving him a reputation beyond his own State. But there seemed to be an overwhelming demand for such a condidacy as his name would present, and he finally yielded to the wishes of his party. Success seemed very remote in a District that was almost sure to give from 500 to 600 Whig majority, but such was his popularity that he easily overcame this, and had a handsome margin to spare.

His reputation as a lawyer and debater had preceded him to

Washington, and he took his seat as a member of the Thirty-ninth Congress, fully alive to the fact that he was a centre of observation. He was assigned a place on several important committees, the most important being the Judiciary Committee, where his legal ability came into special requisition. He did not take a conspicuous place in the debates of this Congress, but proved to be an industrious worker in committees, and a wise shaper of measures. He adhered closely to the Democratic party where political lines were drawn tightly, and retired from the Congress with the reputation of a staunch defender of the pro-slavery policy of the day.

It seemed as if this taste of public life and political honor had only confirmed him in his previous resolution to make the law the business of his life, for we find him declining to run for a second term in Congress, and busily devoting himself again to his profession, in which he speedily rose to the first rank, and gained a reputation which was national. His acquirements and distinction made him an available candidate for a Justice of the Supreme Court of Ohio in 1851. He was accordingly nominated for the place by his party, and duly elected for a term of four years, 1852–56. Two of these he spent on the bench as Justice, and two as Chief-Justice. This judicial life proved more alluring to him than that of a Representative at the National Capital. He was a hard-working, lucid, impartial judge, and his career on the bench fully justified the estimate put on his ability by his friends, without regard to politics. He had a masterly grasp of legal problems, clear insight into motives, hatred of all gloss and subterfuge in argument, and a deliberate, perspicuous method of decision which carried great weight.

After serving a term as Judge, he retired with honors to private life and the pursuit of his profession. There was now eleven years of comparatively undisturbed work before him, during which he added to his fame in the forum. He also took a high place in the councils of his party, and appeared in several campaigns as a public speaker. He was a vigorous and eloquent campaigner when he could be induced to take the stump. This was the formative period of the Republican party, and its

leaders were bold and aggressive. They always found in Mr. Thurman a foeman worthy of their steel. In the political sweep which brought the Republicans into power in 1860, and precipitated the secession movement and civil war, the voice of Democracy was well nigh hushed in the North, but this did not deter Mr. Thurman from giving, when occasion required, full and forcible expression to his political views, which were, in general, those based on the opinion of Attorney-General Jeremiah S. Black, to the effect that "the Union must totally perish at the moment when Congress shall arm one part of the people against another for any purpose beyond that of merely protecting the general government in the exercise of its original functions."

This eleven years of retiracy from public life and entire devotion to his profession extended over the period of the civil war and ended with his reappearance as candidate for the Governorship of Ohio on the Democratic ticket in 1867. This candidacy was felt from the start to be in the nature of a personal sacrifice for his party. Though the Republican nominee, Rutherford B. Hayes, was not essentially a strong opponent, the Republican successes in the State had been signalized by majorities which it seemed impossible to overcome. He was, therefore, very much in the position of one who was leading a forlorn hope. Notwithstanding the odds he plunged into the campaign like a true Roman, organized his party in the State on a winning basis, and so inspired it with his courage and persistency that it has ever since felt the effect of his enthusiasm and transforming power. Though defeated for Governor, he reduced the Republican majority to a minimum and virtually gained a victory for his party by the election of a Democratic Legislature, which had in its hands the making of a United States Senator.

It was quite natural that the political revolution in the State, to which he had in the main contributed, not only by the prestige of a great name, but by heroic effort in council and on the stump, should in the end redound to his advancement. Accordingly, the newly-elected Democratic Legislature, in a spirit of gratitude for his herculean endeavor and with a unanimity

which showed the strong hold he had on their confidence, selected him as a United States Senator to take the place of Senator Benjamin F. Wade. This promotion—Senator fitted his notions of dignity better than Governor and at the same time gave him a wider range of usefulness—placed him in a sphere which was well calculated to bring into play the faculties which had been fully ripened by rich experience. He succeeded a man who stood high at home and in the national councils, and would, therefore, be compelled to rank well in that great deliberative body or else suffer by contrast. But there was no need to fear for one so well equipped as he. He brought a ripeness of learning, and especially in constitutional law, which made him the peer of those older in Senatorial deliberations. He had ever been pronounced in his views on public questions, so that it was known exactly where he would be found when pivotal questions were under discussion. In all the councils of his party he had been a prime mover and originator of important measures, a hater of all shams and subterfuges and a self-reliant, consistent and able advocate of Democratic tenets, as well as a masterly opponent of those of the enemy. It is doubtful if ever a man reached the high office of Senator who was better qualified by education and taste for the place, or whose abilities found more speedy recognition. If the expression may be pardoned, he was a National Senator, not only by demeanor, but in his order of mind, mental endowment and forensic powers. To ability he united fairness and frankness, and in his exhibitions of clearest grit he was considerate of his surroundings.

He took his seat in the United States Senate March 4, 1869, and participated in the earnest debates of the extra session, then called for the purpose of passing on the admission of Texas, Virginia and Mississippi before they had submitted their State Constitutions to the people and ratified the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the National Constitution. Though the Democrats were in a hopeless minority, and the legislation which followed was of a strong Republican type, the situation was such as to command just the power of analysis and lucidity of statement which Mr. Thurman possessed. He proved him-

self a strong lawyer and debater, and his party felt that it had in him one of its brightest and bravest champions.

At the regular session of the Congress, in December, 1869, the "Enforcement Bill," designed to give the government larger police powers in the Southern States, was the chief bone of contention. Mr. Thurman's opposition to this kind of legislation was very able, and in his debates with the opposition he showed powers which established him in the first rank of Senator. And this position was not only conceded by his party friends, but by the Republicans, the latter of whom, to a man, greatly esteemed him for his amiable personality, high character and undoubted ability.

Ben: Perley Poore, in his "Reminiscences of Sixty Years in the National Metropolis," thus speaks of him: "Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, was recognized by the Democrats in the Senate as their leader. He was a broad-shouldered, sturdily-built man, with a large, square head and ruddy complexion, gray hair and beard and a positive manner that commanded respect. Earnest, outspoken and free in his criticism of men and manners, he would wave his red bandanna pocket handkerchief like a guidon, give his nose a trumpet blast, take a fresh pinch of snuff and dash into a debate, dealing rough blows and scattering the carefully-prepared arguments of his adversaries like chaff."

Though vigorous in his logic and dreadfully direct and earnest in his opposition, he made no enemies, and very frequently, after the fiercest encounters with certain members of the opposition, he would seek their companionship in the committee rooms and talk over the blows given and taken with the zest of a youth who had indulged in a free fight without hard thoughts.

Senator Thurman was elected to a second term in the Senate in 1874, so that his whole Senatorial career extended from 1869 to 1881. For ten of these years his party was in the minority, and he was its recognized leader. But it must not be supposed that he was a leader in that strictly partisan sense which shaped the policy of parties during the war. While the gravest issues ever presented to the country were unsettled, he was a Democrat of the "straightest sect" and a stern advocate of results

such as were deemed desirable pending a decision by arms. But as United States Senator, confronting a situation which was beyond party or political recall, and legal facts like the decision of the Supreme Court in 1869, giving Congress the right to establish the relation of rebellious States to the Union, which could not be ignored, he was a Democrat of graver mould, a far more thoughtful and unimpassioned man and official.

Much of the above period was that of Reconstruction and of adjusting the mushroom finances of the country to the needs of peaceful industry. His party was confronted with a majority which had certain ends in view. These ends it could only reach by certain means. Some were desirable, some not. Mr. Thurman did not appear on the scene as one wishing to reverse the verdict obtained by war, nor as one seeking to turn aside any legitimate and permanent consequence of armed arbitrament. This would only have been fatuous politics and puerile statesmanship. As opponent of the Republican measures of Reconstruction, he more than once explained himself as not wishing to defeat what he considered proper and necessary, but as anxious to use the privilege of a minority representative to expunge from them what was bad and place the whole on constitutional foundations. He was a loyalist who had passed beyond the acerbities of an ante-bellum period and who would prudentially use the powers and possibilities of a post-bellum period so as to assure the people of all sections that Union was desirable and law not a threat.

Throughout all the post-bellum period, up to the advent of Mr. Thurman to the Senate, the Democratic party had been in a dazed condition. It was feeble and wavering in the face of odds and of the new situation it was called upon to confront. But this was changed when Mr. Thurman appeared. The mission of sheer obstructionist ended with his entry into the Senate. He showed it the broad way to a career which placed it abreast of the new political era which had dawned and gave to it uses as beneficial as if it had had the power as a majority to originate legislation. He made it the great cross-questioner of motives and deeds, held up the plumb-line of the Constitution to every

measure, and, by always keeping the majority under rigid scrutiny, compelled it to a course which, if not exactly Democratic, was as near it as a minority could reasonably expect. This required brains, pluck and a talent for parliamentary leadership which none in his party possessed to the extent of Mr. Thurman. Some of his speeches were models of oratory, analysis and logic, as keen, powerful and impressive as those of his antagonists, measuring up in every essential with the magnificent outbursts of Conkling, the studied strains of Edmunds and the forceful sentences of Sherman. Whether it was the constitutional amendments, general suffrage, soft as against hard money, or what not, he was ever ready, not with a factious opposition, but with the legal and constitutional inquiries which pricked many a legislative bubble, purged the dross from many a crude measure and robbed enactments of much that was offensive.

Mr. Thurman was very decided in his hard-money views during the early debates upon finance, and opposed with vigor the various Republican measures which looked to a superabundance of paper currency. But after the opinion of the Supreme Court, in 1870, establishing the constitutionality of the Legal Tender Act, his views underwent modification. By 1874 he had drifted very far toward the doctrine advocated by the "Greenback Party," which had swept the State of Ohio for Governor under the lead of his old preceptor, Hon. Wm. Allen, and, like many others, believed that a new influence had entered permamently into American politics. In more than one really able speech he held that the use of Treasury notes as a circulating medium did not necessarily mean inflation, and that their substitution for coin was legitimate. It is to be supposed that these convictions, honestly entertained at the time, for Mr. Thurman could not entertain a dishonest conviction, were transient and that profounder study of an intricate situation led him back to the old Jacksonian doctrine which he had formerly espoused. Of course the Republicans looked upon this partial surrender of the "Old Roman's" views as somewhat of a concession to their theories of a national currency, but the sentiment he propitiated in this direction was more than discounted by what he lost in

his own party, which was very nearly divided over the same question. The ruling faction of the party was for hard money, and this faction was what became known as the "Tilden faction." It was somewhat imperious and did not hesitate to drive home upon the opposing faction a full measure of resentment, directed especially at the heads of all those who might by any possibility become available Presidential timber.

Therefore what otherwise would have passed away as a mere freak of the moment or as a misjudgment which time would speedily correct was, in Mr. Thurman's case, unjustly magnified and greatly turned against him, in order that it might serve the purpose above indicated. He had received favorable consideration in the National Convention of 1872, as a candidate for the Presidency, and quite a number of votes. In 1876 his name was again favorably before the party as an aspirant, but the Tilden wave, manipulated by those who were in a position to take advantage of the recent soft-money utterances of Mr. Thurman, swept over Ohio so completely as to engulf all his chances for success.

He, however, did not allow this to worry or disappoint him. When Mr. Tilden was nominated he cheerfully turned in as a champion of his cause on an old-fashioned hard-money basis and made some of the most effective speeches of the campaign. Nor was he less active in the Senate, where his leadership of the party was as much recognized as ever and where his mental and physical activity, his excellence as a lawyer and his vast range of knowledge came into requisition as often as before.

As is well known, the election of 1876 led to a disputed result, which had an ominous look for a time. Danger was avoided by an agreement to report the Electoral Commission Act, which established a Commission to decide upon the merits of the case. Mr. Thurman was a strong advocate of the act, and he held his party so firmly in the Senate that only one Democrat voted against it, while it passed the Democratic House by a majority of 191 to 86. He was afterwards honored with the position of Senate member of the Commission and voted throughout to sustain the returns which favored the election of Mr. Tilden.

After the great Democratic sweep of 1878, which gave both branches of Congress to the Democrats by decided majorities, Mr. Thurman was honored in the Senate by being elected President *pro tem.* of that body, and in this capacity he presided with dignity and impartiality, greatly endearing himself to the prominent men of both parties.

In 1880 he was again an aspirant for Presidential honors, and with a more decided following in the National Convention than ever before. His strength rose to over sixty votes, with a fair chance of substantial increase, when the Convention was stampeded for General Hancock. Amid the furore which succeeded no leader could hold his forces in line, and Mr. Thurman, like the rest of the prominent aspirants, was forced to bow to the inevitable.

The fall elections of 1880 were disastrous to the Democrats, and the Legislature of Ohio became Republican. Mr. Thurman's second term in the Senate expired with March 4, 1881, and Mr. Sherman, who had been Secretary of the Treasury, was elected to succeed him in that honorable office he had filled with such signal ability. The very last legislation on which he left his impress was what became known as the "Thurman Bill," compelling the Pacific Railroads to fund their debt and pay their obligations to the Government. It was a measure of mighty importance, and its passage required great persistency and boldness.

On leaving the Senate at the age of 68 years, Mr. Thurman retired to private life, full of honors, with a modest competency, and in the possession of a robust mind and physique. His home was such as the distinguished gentleman and finely read scholar craves. Every surrounding spoke of comfort. Ample book-shelves were filled with ancient and modern authors of renown, and he loved to pass his leisure in perusing his favorite volumes. He still retained an important law practice, which he pursued chiefly in the capacity of councellor, though in several instances he appeared as active attorney, as in the celebrated "Bell Telephone" suits, and the "Tally-sheet Forgery" cases in his own State. President Arthur appointed him a member of the International Metallic Conference in 1881, a difficult and responsible position, which he filled with great credit.

When the Democrats gained control of the Ohio Legislature, in 1884, Mr. Thurman was again spoken of in connection with the United States Senate, but a younger generation was, by this time, in control of his party, and the "Old Liners" were compelled, after a brief struggle, to recognize the power of new blood, and the potentiality of new political methods. But nothing could crush the respect in which Mr. Thurman was held by his party. Though beaten for the Senate by his competitor, Hon. Henry B. Payne, his mission was still to maintain the honor and strength of the substantial old Democracy of his State, without which the younger and less discreet element would lack a timely balance wheel.

Mr. Thurman's intimate party friends hoped to see him called into President Cleveland's Cabinet in 1885, but other counsels prevailed at the time. The honor which was then withheld came, however, in 1888, when the President made known his preferences for Mr. Thurman as a candidate for Vice-President, in case he himself were placed at the head of the ticket. As soon as Mr. Thurman's name was mentioned in this connection, the propriety of his nomination became apparent, and when the National Convention of 1888 assembled at St. Louis, he easily led the field as a Vice-Presidential candidate. Indeed, it only required the mention of his name in Convention to excite the wildest enthusiasm, and in all his long, varied, and highly honored career, Mr. Thurman never received a more spontaneous or hearty endorsement from his party. It required only a single ballot to express the overwhelming sentiment of the Convention in his favor, and place him on the ticket with President Cleveland. Though seventy-five years old when thus signally honored, he accepted with the alacrity of youth the responsibilities of candidature, and expressed his readiness to enter the campaign and help his party and cause on to victory.

There can be no more fitting conclusion to Mr. Thurman's biography than the tribute paid to him at the time of his nomination at St. Louis. Said the *New York Herald*, editorially:

"We are for Thurman—not to-day, because he will be nominated, but always for Thurman—for Thurman, because we

cherish the privilege of admiring such a man; because we are proud of the country capable of producing such a man; because we hold the faith of Democracy, which, strengthening the fibre of his pure purpose, has made him greater and stronger with every year of his useful and honored life.

"What a fighter he has been! He is scarred all over with his hundred battles, and every blow he has taken or given has been in front. He has fought in the majority and he has fought in the minority, when he was one of ten thousand and when he was alone; but there lives not his own or Democracy's foe that has ever seen his back. He has gone down more than once, but always face upwards, fighting still; and he has never stayed down. He has had within him the force of living principle that never permitted him to surrender or to falter, and no matter what the odds against him, he has never surrendered anything in the long fight he has made for the people. Whenever and wherever classes have separated themselves from the people, arrogating to themselves distinctions, privileges and benefits above the people, at the expense of the people, they have found in Thurman an uncompromising antagonist, asking no quarter, giving none, accepting none. If it is the highest quality of heroism to face martyrdom unflinchingly, he is heroic. But every martyrdom has made him stronger. He has been thrown to the lions, time and again, only to come out unscathed, with new skill at his weapons, new force in his blow. He has grown greater with age as Gladstone grew—as all great men strengthen as wisdom develops their powers and teaches them how to use them rightly. We all know him—from Maine to Oregon, from California to Florida, and we all love him. We want the Old Roman and we will take no denial."

The remarks of Mr. Tarpey, of California, who placed his name in nomination, are both historic and eulogistic. He said:

"That I am proud of the privilege of addressing you I acknowledge, but that I am prouder still of the man whom I shall name I will not deny, for I feel, sirs, that this Republic holds no superior to the Hon. Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio. The greeting accorded his name is a well-deserved tribute. Its spontaneity has

been nobly earned. Be assured, sirs, a greeting will be accorded his name at its every mention throughout this Republic from sea to sea and from the British line to the gulf.

"Allen G. Thurman! What an epitome of American civil history is embodied in that name; his character and ability are known to every man, woman and child in the land. His public services will be a more enduring monument than temples of stone or brass, for history will inscribe his name among the list of America's illustrious sons. Taking his seat in the United States Senate in 1869, the imprint of his genius is found deeply imbedded in the legislation of the country. From his first appearance in the Senate until his retirement from that body his voice was always raised in behalf of the people and in defense of their rights. For forty years he has been a prominent figure in public life, and yet to-day no man can point to a single act or expression of his which does not do him credit. Large at heart, large of brain, and larger still in experience, he is the man of all men whose record justifies his nomination at your hands in the sense that he cannot be defeated before the people—a man of benevolent heart, manifesting itself not only in private life, but as the leading feature of his official career.

"When the Pacific coast was endeavoring to retard Chinese immigration, when it had decided that national legislation was necessary to accomplish the desired result, when the merits of the subject were not understood east of the Rocky Mountains, Allen G. Thurman, then a Senator of the United States, was the first to raise his voice in defence of those whose means of living were in danger, and whose homes were threatened with destruction. When the great railroad corporations evidenced an intention to evade payment of their obligations to the Government this great man prepared that remarkable enactment known as the Thurman bill, by which the offending corporations were obliged to provide a sinking fund for the redemption of their promises. During the trying times of reconstruction Mr. Thurman was the central figure in the United States Senate in upholding the dignity and integrity of the Constitution. The waves of party passion, lashed into fury by ill-advised, jealous partisans, broke

harmless upon his leonine front and settled back into calmness by the force of his logic and the power of his oratory. A ripe scholar, his disquisitions upon constitutional law are masterpieces of reasoning and eloquence, challenging the admiration of even his political opponents. His fame is not his alone, it is the proud heritage of the American people. His name may be most fittingly coupled with that of our honored President, Grover Cleveland. Cleveland and Thurman will be a ticket absolutely invincible. It will sweep the country with a mighty rush, a tidal wave of approval.

"Let no mistakes be made at this time. Mistakes are crimes. If you but do your duty, if you but give the people what they expect, what they demand, the contest of parties instead of just commencing will be practically ended, for the great electoral and popular majorities which Cleveland and Thurman will surely receive at the poles will be a revelation even to ourselves. As representatives of the Democracy of the nation we have a duty to perform. We must nominate the man the people have already nominated. We have but to endorse the popular verdict; no less will be accepted at your hands. Let no consideration of personal friendship or glamor of locality influence your action. Personal friendship cannot be repaid by nomination where a great party's interest and future are at stake. No trifling with great concerns of state should be tolerated; no expression of local pride can be admitted to influence action. When the sovereign people speak they must be obeyed. Broad ground must be taken. The man of the nation, not the man of the state, must be nominated. Let it not be said that one single Democrat in all this great Union failed in this testimonial to the greatest American of his day; the noblest breathing man upon American soil; fit consort in the temple of fame of those patriots of the past, the founders of our institutions whose sacred dust lies calmly sleeping beneath the sod of Mount Vernon, Monticello and the Hermitage, awaiting the dedication of our national pantheon."

The speech of Senator John W. Daniel, of Virginia, seconding the nomination, ran as follows:

"Fifty years ago and more there went beyond the Alleghenies from the good old town of Lynchburg, a preacher of the Gospel, who carried with him his wife, his boy, his Bible and his household goods. He settled in the splendid young Commonwealth of Ohio. The boy became the father of the man. The man, by his force of character, rose to the high places of his people's confidence and love. They made him their representative in Congress. They clothed him with the ermine of the Chief-Justiceship of their court. They sent him as a Senator of the United States.

"He was a statesman of country-wide and world-wide renown; in the Church of Israel a teacher and a leader of men. And further, there were difficult conditions to be confronted and difficult theories to be expounded. He measured to the depth of every exigency and rose to the height of every occasion until he became the beacon of the people's hope and the centre of the state's desire.

"In an age of corruption he was an exemplification of purity. In an age of extravagance he was the sentinel of economy; in an age of sectionalism he knew only his country; in an age of hate he was the incarnation of fraternity; in an age of scandal the salt of his good name never lost its savor. The revolving years that have circled around his head have each of them left in its track a new ring of glory. Can I not say of him in the language of the poet, 'Age may o'er his brow be flung; but his heart, his heart, is ever young.' Old indeed, but not too old to receive the tardy honor of a people to whom he has been faithful, or to requite them with renewed and faithful service. Why not nominate him now, my countrymen, and by acclamation? In the name of the people of Virginia, on whose soil Thurman was born; in the name of Ohio, his adopted home; in the name of the Democracy of the great nation, incorruptible, unterrified and unconquerable, I fling this banner to the breeze the symbol of his name."

As Mr. Daniels concluded he waved a large bandanna, thus giving to the party a campaign guidon.

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